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**Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of  
England: A Study in Early Fourteenth-Century Aristocracy**

**By**

**Alison Frances Marshall**

A dissertation submitted to the University of Bristol in accordance with  
the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.) in the

Faculty of Arts

Department of Historical Studies, School of Humanities

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## **ABSTRACT**

Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England (1300-1338), was the second surviving son of Edward I, the half-brother of Edward II and the uncle of Edward III. Despite his status and wealth, he has attracted scant attention from historians and consequently his significance has been underestimated. This study aims not only to present the first detailed assessment of Norfolk's life, but also to provide a new perspective from which to assess early fourteenth-century aristocratic society and political culture. By using hitherto neglected household records an analysis of Norfolk's upbringing is given, thereby significantly contributing towards the poorly documented field of royal and aristocratic childhood in the later medieval period, as well as providing a context for Norfolk's later actions. This study challenges traditional misconceptions as to Norfolk's political role, and by considering his experiences under Edward I, Edward II and Edward III, it seeks to provide a fresh viewpoint from which to examine the nature of the relationship between Crown and nobility during the early fourteenth century, and the differing styles of kingship of the three Edwards. By giving equal prominence to Norfolk's interests away from court – his use of family alliances, the composition of his affinity, and his attitudes to lordship in diverse geographical regions – it seeks to shed new light on the ways in which the aristocracy adapted to a period of social instability, political upheaval, and economic hardship. It argues that early fourteenth-century magnates should not be viewed as members of group factions, but as individuals with their own changing attitudes and allegiances. By shifting traditional attention away from the chronicles to a much wider source-base, it hopes to demonstrate that biographies of individuals such as Norfolk, who were neither prominent favourites nor consistently in opposition to the Crown, can shed invaluable light on early fourteenth-century history.

Dedicated to the memory of

Eileen Elsie Spencer

1914-2005



## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I owe a great deal of gratitude to Dr Brendan Smith, who first suggested that a biography of Norfolk would be a valuable undertaking and who showed faith in my abilities from the outset, even when my own faith was wavering. His ongoing advice has been invaluable, and his excellent reputation is highly deserved. Many thanks also to Dr Paul Dryburgh for initially helping me to find my way around The National Archives, and also for bringing to my attention any documents of interest found in the course of his own research.

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Especial thanks are owed to Jon Gittoes, without whose unwavering support this study would not have been possible.

**AUTHOR'S DECLARATION**

I declare that the work in this dissertation was carried out in accordance with the Regulations of the University of Bristol. The work is original, except where indicated by special reference in the text, and no part of the dissertation has been submitted for any other academic award. Any views expressed in the dissertation are those of the author.

SIGNED:  DATE: 12/04/07

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|            |  |
|------------|--|
| BCM        | Berkeley Castle Muniments, Berkeley  |
| BIHR       | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i>  |
| BL         | British Library, London  |
| CCR        | <i>Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509</i> , 47 vols. (London, 1896-1963)   |
| CChR       | <i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 6 vols. (London, 1903-27)   |
| CCW        | <i>Calendar of the Chancery Warrants Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1244-1326</i> (London, 1927)   |
| CDS        | <i>Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 5 vols. (London, 1881-8)   |
| CFR        | <i>Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509</i> , 22 vols. (London, 1911-62)  |
| CIPM       | <i>Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents Preserved in the Public Record Office</i> , 16 vols. (London, 1907-74)   |
| CPMR       | <i>Calendar of the Plea and Memoranda Rolls of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, 1323-1364</i> , ed. A. H. Thomas (London, 1926)   |
| CPR        | <i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1232-1509</i> , 53 vols. (London, 1981-1971)  |
| DNB        | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. L. Stephen and S. Lee, 66 vols. (London, 1885-1901)  |
| EHR        | <i>English Historical Review</i>   |
| Oxford DNB | <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in Association with the British Academy: From the Earliest Times to the Year 2000</i> , ed. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison, 60 vols. (Oxford, 2004) |
| RCWL       | <i>The Royal Charter Witness Lists of Edward II (1307-1326) From the Charter Rolls in the Public Record Office</i> , ed. J. S. Hamilton (London, 2001)   |
| TNA        | The National Archives, London  |

- Vita*, ed. Childs  
*Vita Edwardi Secundi: The Life of Edward the Second. Re-Edited Text with New Introduction, New Historical Notes, and Revised Translation Based on that of N. Denholm-Young*, ed. W. R. Childs (Oxford, 2005)
- Vita*, ed. Denholm-Young  
*Vita Edwardi Secundi Monachi Cuiusdam Malmesberiensis: The Life of Edward the Second by the So-called Monk of Malmesbury*, ed. and trans. N. Denholm-Young (London, 1957)



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## INTRODUCTION

Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England (1300-1338), was a man possessed of a 'less than dynamic personality, who is seldom if ever recorded as acting on his own initiative'.<sup>1</sup> He 'showed few signs of political aptitude' and was not 'of any real political significance'.<sup>2</sup> He was also 'apparently an unpopular figure' and very much 'a man of modest achievement'.<sup>3</sup> This, at least, is what current opinion would have us believe. Historians have been free with their derogatory judgements, and yet since no study of Norfolk's life has previously been undertaken very little is actually known about him. As the son of Edward I, the half-brother of Edward II, the uncle of Edward III and the nephew or cousin of five French monarchs (see Figure 1), he was a man of great status. His position entitled him to a prominent say in political and military matters concerning the realm, and to an international role as a military leader against the Scots, a participant in Anglo-French diplomacy and a recipient of papal correspondence. Historians, however, have entirely misunderstood his political alignment during and after the civil war of 1321-22, as well as his motivations for supporting Isabella and Mortimer against the king in 1326. They have underestimated his importance in the downfall of Edward II, and have neglected to take any interest in his relationship with Edward III after 1330. Furthermore, with vast estates in England, Ireland and Wales, Norfolk was a wealthy individual whose affluence was rivalled by few of his contemporaries. His revenues were used to finance a considerable body of followers who were employed as members of his household and retinue, but the opportunity to illustrate these aspects of lordship through a study of Norfolk's life has been wholly overlooked.

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<sup>1</sup> *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.

<sup>2</sup> C. Bingham, *The Life and Times of Edward II* (London, 1973), 157; J. R. S. Phillips, *Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke 1307-1324: Baronial Politics in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1972), 11.

<sup>3</sup> C. Given-Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth-Century Political Community* (London, 1987), 34; *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.



ENGLAND

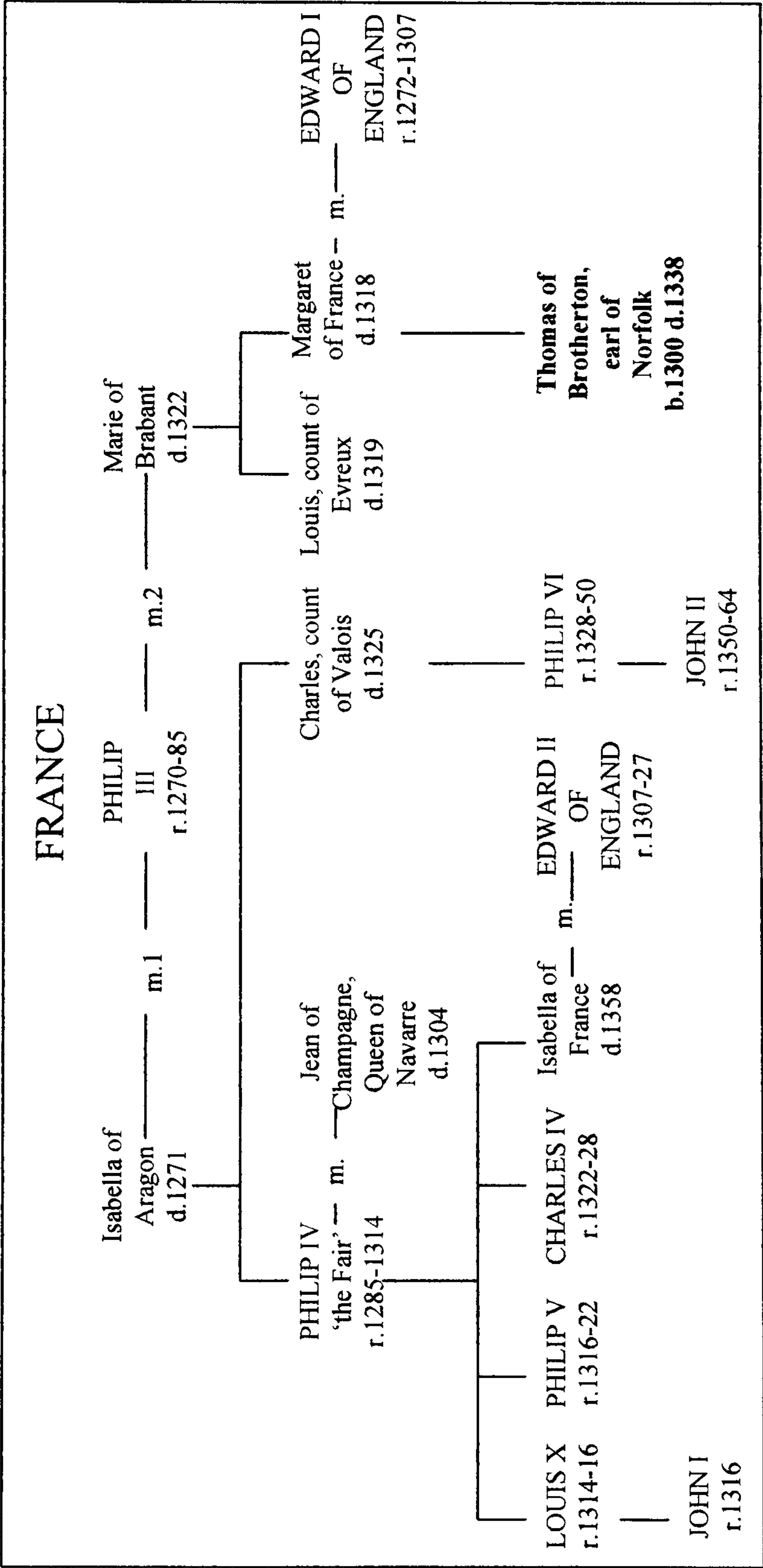
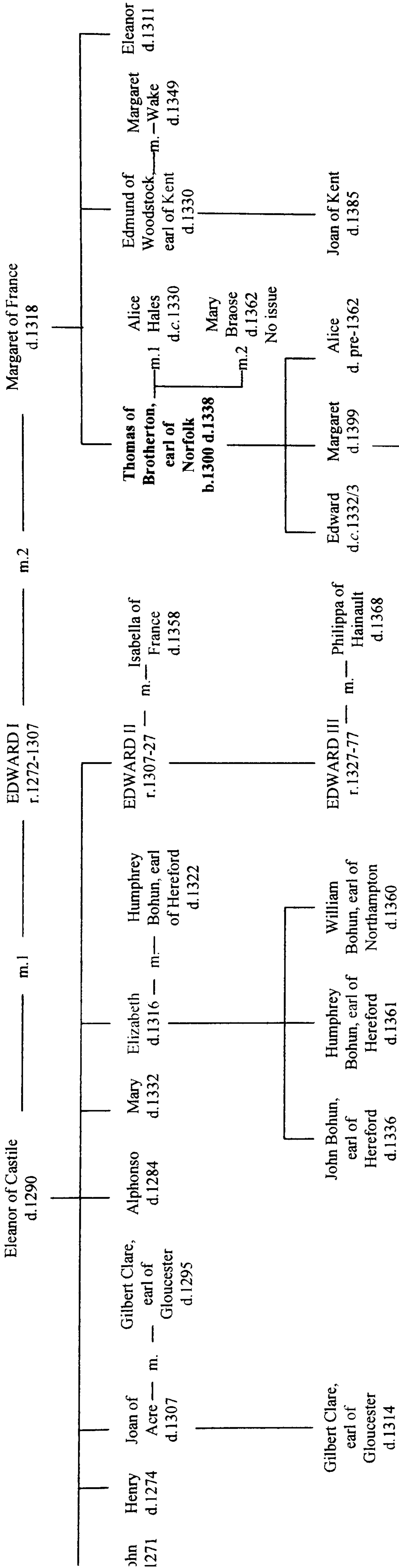


Figure 1. Genealogical Table Illustrating Norfolk's Descent from the English and French Monarchies

Norfolk is by no means the only fourteenth-century magnate to have received such treatment from historians. His brother Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, has been denounced as ‘weak, credulous, and impulsive, selfish, fickle and foolish’.<sup>4</sup> The earl of Warenne has been described as the most brutal and lecherous of individuals, who played no great role in English politics.<sup>5</sup> John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, was a consistent member of the king’s inner circle of courtiers and yet ‘had very little independent importance’.<sup>6</sup> The foremost reason why Norfolk and some of his contemporaries have been dismissed in this manner is the tendency of historians to rely upon the evidence of the chronicles before turning to a more time-consuming examination of other sources. The events of the early fourteenth century engendered forthright opinions amongst contemporaries, and the chroniclers repeatedly focused upon the problems caused by Edward II’s lavish generosity to his few favoured companions, whilst also taking a great interest in the activities of his most vigorous opponents. The other earls and nobles – whose actions should perhaps be viewed as having been more representative of the magnate class as a whole at this time – tend to fade into insignificance in comparison with these ‘key players’. Since historians often only embark upon a detailed and lengthy study if they have already been convinced of its validity by the chroniclers, the role of Norfolk amongst others has been overlooked. The *Vita Edward Secundi* can be cited in illustration of this point. The *Vita* (whose date and authorship will be discussed further below), has justifiably been described by Tout as the ‘most human, most coloured, and in some ways the most sympathetic and most critical’ of the contemporary accounts of the reign.<sup>7</sup> In the preface to his edition of the chronicle, Denholm-Young stated that it is ‘the best, and often unique, source for the

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<sup>4</sup> *DNB*, xvi. 410-12.

<sup>5</sup> T. F. Tout, *The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History* (Manchester, 1914), 18; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 10-11.

<sup>6</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 10.

<sup>7</sup> Tout, *Place of the Reign of Edward II*, 5.



character and doings of the *protagonists*’ of the period.<sup>8</sup> Wendy Childs – the most recent editor of the *Vita* – has pointed out that the chronicler does express an opinion about most of the earls, but that he ‘writes at greatest length on the favourites and on Lancaster’.<sup>9</sup> The author of the *Vita* does indeed voice an opinion about Norfolk – he says that in 1321 he was an active soldier considering his age – but in total there are only three references to him in the entire chronicle, and this gives a misleading indication as to his real significance.<sup>10</sup> The marginal role assigned to Norfolk in the *Vita* – and indeed in other contemporary chronicles – together with the unpopularity of the genre of historical biography, and the influence of the constitutional and administrative historians who portrayed the magnates of this period as having been of ‘meaner moral stature’ than their predecessors, combine to explain why this individual has never previously merited any serious attention.<sup>11</sup>

The purpose of this study is to explicate Norfolk’s life for the first time, to alter common misconceptions regarding his character and career, and to enable future judgements about him to be based on detailed fact rather than oft repeated opinion. By doing so, it hopes to modify current thinking as to the value of studying such individuals, who were neither prominent favourites of the king nor in consistent opposition to the autocracy of the Crown, but whose careers can nevertheless reveal so much about early fourteenth-century aristocratic society. By examining Norfolk’s childhood, his political and military career, his attitudes towards his family and *familia* and the administration of his estates, this study aims to significantly contribute towards our knowledge of these aspects of early fourteenth-century history. The considerable body of financial and administrative documents relating to Norfolk’s childhood

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<sup>8</sup> *Vita*, ed. Denholm-Young, x (present author’s italics).

<sup>9</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, xlvi.

<sup>10</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 198-9, 28-9, 162-3.

<sup>11</sup> W. Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England in its Origins and Development*, 3 vols. (Oxford, 1880), ii. 335. Tout also stresses the dearth of great men and lack of strong leaders during the early fourteenth century: Tout, *Place of the Reign of Edward II*, 23.



household, which was created for him by Edward I in 1301, will be used in conjunction with the chronicles and extant correspondence to illuminate the nature of his upbringing and education, as well as princely court culture and aristocratic attitudes towards children at this time. The study of the history of childhood is a relatively new area, and this examination of Norfolk's upbringing is a chance to contribute to this under-researched and little documented field. It is highly unusual to be able to outline in such detail the earliest years of any individual living in the medieval period – the biographer of Edward I, for instance, has concluded that 'childhood, even when it was that of a probable future king, was not particularly well-recorded in the middle ages' – and this therefore represents a rare and valuable means by which to further our knowledge of this subject.<sup>12</sup>

The early fourteenth century was undoubtedly a time of political upheaval, witnessing civil war and the first deposition of an English monarch since before the Norman Conquest, as well as an equally unpopular interim regime before Edward III was able to restore much needed peace and stability. It was also a time of social change and instability within the ruling elite itself. Between 1312 and 1330 no fewer than seven earls were executed, whilst two others perished in battle.<sup>13</sup> The great baronial families of Bigod, Lacy and Clare became extinct in the male line during the early fourteenth century, whilst the earldom of Warwick was in the hands of a minor for much of the period. To compensate for their dwindling numbers, the early fourteenth century saw the elevation of new men to earldoms and this further altered the dynamic of the aristocracy. As one of the few earls to survive both the reign of Edward II and the regime of Isabella and Mortimer, and to live long enough into the personal rule of Edward III to witness the opening of the Hundred Years War, Norfolk's life can be used

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<sup>12</sup> M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 5.

<sup>13</sup> The earls executed were Cornwall (1312); Lancaster (1322); Carlisle (1323); Arundel and Winchester (1326); and Kent and March (1330). The earl of Gloucester was killed at the battle of Bannockburn (1314), and the earl of Hereford died in the battle of Boroughbridge (1322).



to examine the nature of the relationship between the Crown and the nobility, the differing styles of kingship and patronage policies of Edward II and Edward III, and to engage in the debate as to how a period of such internal turmoil and violence could be transformed into one of relative harmony and stability, where aggression was channelled outwards towards France and Scotland.

Central to any study such as this is the issue of lordship and the influence of the magnates in the localities upon which their national role rested. By the late thirteenth century demesne farming had reached its peak, whilst problems caused by overpopulation, taxation, the devastations of warfare and the great famine and animal murrain of 1315-22, combined to create an agrarian ‘crisis’.<sup>14</sup> The profits of seigneurial estate administration were difficult to maintain – profits which were needed to pay for increasingly sumptuous households and large retinues, whose members now served in return for financial remuneration rather than as a condition of land tenure. The relevance of these aspects of lordship to our understanding of the fourteenth-century higher nobility was first brought to the fore by Holmes nearly five decades ago, but despite the success of his pioneering approach which gave central prominence to the noble family, its estates and following, few individual magnates have as yet been the subject of this kind of enquiry.<sup>15</sup> This biography will look at Norfolk’s use of marriage alliances and land transactions as a method of furthering his interests both locally and nationally. Within the context of what is already known about magnate affinities, it will examine the size and composition of his household and retinue, as well as the various bonds of patronage which were replacing ties of land tenure. The administration of his estates in England, Ireland and Wales will be compared, to enable conclusions to be drawn about

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<sup>14</sup> N. Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration in England* (Oxford, 1937), 1-5; B. M. S. Campbell, ‘The Agrarian Problem in the Early Fourteenth Century’, *Past & Present*, 188 (2005), 3-70; B. F. Harvey, ‘Introduction: The ‘Crisis’ of the Early Fourteenth Century’, in B. M. S. Campbell (ed.), *Before the Black Death; Studies in the ‘Crisis’ of the Early Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1991), 1-24.

<sup>15</sup> G. A. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957).



the different problems associated with lordship and seigneurial administration in these three geographically and politically distinct regions.

Before moving on to discuss relevant historical research and theory to date, as well as the genre of historical biography and the sources to be used in this study, a question of terminology must first be dealt with. That is, what precisely is meant when medieval historians speak of the ‘aristocracy’? Is the term distinct from ‘nobility’, and if so, in what way? As Crouch has admitted, there are no easy answers to these questions and little can be gleaned from the medieval writers themselves, who made little or no distinction between the variety of Latin nouns (such as *domini*, *barones*, *maiores*, *magnates* or *nobiles*) which were used to refer to the individuals at the head of society.<sup>16</sup> Today medieval historians often use ‘aristocracy’ and ‘nobility’ synonymously to refer to the same dominant group within society, although technically a distinction should be made between the two terms. The definition given by Reuter (and accepted by Crouch), is that:

‘A noble is, strictly speaking, a person whose (normally privileged) status is legally defined, which means that one can be a noble without exercising power. An aristocrat, by contrast, is someone who exercises power as a result of being well-born in a socially rather than legally defined sense...In so far as a distinction *is* observed, it is more one between a nobility as a set of individuals whose status is legally defined and an aristocracy as that same set perceived as a sociologically defined group’.<sup>17</sup>

In contrast to France during the reign of Philip IV ‘the Fair’, England never developed a legal procedure for ennoblement that conferred upon the recipient a set of defined

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<sup>16</sup> D. Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (London, 1992), 1-38.

<sup>17</sup> T. Reuter, ‘The Medieval Nobility in Twentieth-Century Historiography’, in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 178-9; D. Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900-1300* (Harlow, 2005), 1-4. For other distinctions see also: M. L. Bush, *The English Aristocracy: A Comparative Synthesis* (Manchester, 1984), 1-2, 92-8; J. Powis, *Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1984), 1-3.



privileges. Therefore – even if one accepts Reuter’s definition – the term ‘nobility’ within an English context remains ambiguous and must be further qualified by reference to factors such as the development of heraldry and the peerage.<sup>18</sup> It was to avoid any ambiguity that the term ‘aristocracy’ was preferred in the title of this study, but for stylistic ease the two terms will be used interchangeably throughout the remainder of the work.

The medieval aristocracy has always attracted the interest of historians – as the king’s natural advisers (or, indeed, opponents) they played a fundamental role in shaping events, and their study has been aided by the fact that they are better documented than other social groups. The early fourteenth century was dominated by violent conflict between Crown and nobility during the reign of Edward II and the regime of Isabella and Mortimer, followed by a period of almost unprecedented harmony beginning with Edward III’s personal rule in 1330. Much of the historiography of the period has been an attempt to explain the reasons for this.

For many decades, the conventional understanding of early fourteenth-century history was based upon the theories proposed by Stubbs, Tout and Davies. In the late nineteenth century Stubbs surveyed the constitutional developments of the fourteenth century in the second volume of his influential *Constitutional History*. For him, the importance of the fourteenth century revolved around ‘the growth of the House of Commons into its share of political power’. While the royal household was the basis of the Crown’s authority, Stubbs felt that parliament was developing as an effective means by which the nobility – and increasingly the commons – could limit that royal authority.<sup>19</sup> Inspired by Stubbs, the early twentieth century saw the publication by Tout and Davies of two administrative histories of the reign of Edward II, in which they reached very similar conclusions. They argued that with an increasingly effective

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<sup>18</sup> Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 3-4; Bush, *English Aristocracy*, 94-6.

<sup>19</sup> Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 330-5.



bureaucracy (aided by the development of the household departments of the chamber and wardrobe), the influence of the aristocracy over the king had diminished. Realizing that parliament was not at this date as fully developed as Stubbs had believed, they suggested that the magnates (whose goal was to 'form themselves into a ruling class to direct and control the king'), attempted to wrest control from the Crown of the chancery and exchequer, which had by this date moved outside the king's household and which were therefore more susceptible to their influence.<sup>20</sup> For Stubbs, Tout and Davies, the violence of Edward II's reign was the result of a constitutional and administrative struggle between the king and his followers on one side, and the 'baronial opposition' on the other, with a 'middle party' trying to mediate between these opposing factions. The failure of the baronial opposition to develop a well-organized system of government with which to replace personal rule by the king, together with Edward III's ingratiating attitude towards his magnates and willingness to grant away privileges, enabled a more peaceful relationship between Crown and aristocracy to develop after 1330.

By the 1960s, however, historians were becoming increasingly critical of Stubbs, Tout and Davies. Richardson and Sayles, for instance, accused Stubbs of having allowed the constitutional norms of his own day to prejudice his theories regarding medieval government, and described his *Constitutional History* as 'an inadequate and misleading book'.<sup>21</sup> New theories were put forward to modify or replace those of the constitutional and administrative historians. McFarlane, in particular, was instrumental in arguing that conflict was not inherent within later medieval society, but was

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<sup>20</sup> J. C. Davies, *The Baronial Opposition to Edward II: Its Character and Policy. A Study in Administrative History* (Cambridge, 1918), 19-20; Tout, *Place of the Reign of Edward II*.

<sup>21</sup> H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 1-22. For further criticism of Stubbs, Tout and Davies, see: M. Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II: Walter Stapeldon Treasurer of England* (Cambridge, 1983), 1-8; W. M. Ormrod, *Political Life in Medieval England, 1300-1450* (Basingstoke, 1995), 16-18.



dependent upon the nature of the relationship between the king and his magnates.<sup>22</sup> This theme was expanded in much of the scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s, with royal patronage becoming a prominent issue. Tuck, for instance, produced a study of politics from the reign of Edward I to Henry VI, in which the relationship between Crown and nobility was given prime importance.<sup>23</sup> In the field of Edward II's reign, Phillips and Maddicott published studies of the earls of Pembroke and Lancaster, which illustrated the importance of viewing early fourteenth-century magnates as individuals preoccupied with their own interests rather than as members of group factions, and both argued against the idea of a 'middle party' as first put forward by Stubbs and accepted by Tout and Davies.<sup>24</sup> Fryde also undertook a detailed study of the years between 1321 and 1326 which highlighted the extent of the Despensers' influence over government at the expense of the other magnates, as well as their enormous financial gains following the battle of Boroughbridge.<sup>25</sup> Edward III, meanwhile, had been undergoing something of a rehabilitation since the publication of a paper by McKisack in 1960,<sup>26</sup> and he was increasingly credited with a generous and even-handed patronage 'policy', which enabled him to build 'a remarkable rapport with the nobility; the product of skilled political management and an undoubted personal magnetism'.<sup>27</sup>

By the 1980s the idea of a constitutional battle had largely been abandoned, and the events of the early fourteenth century were increasingly being understood in terms of the relationship between Crown and nobility, which was dependent upon factors such as the personality of the king, the vagaries of warfare and – of course – patronage. At

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<sup>22</sup> K. B. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England: The Ford Lectures for 1953 and Related Studies* (Oxford, 1973).

<sup>23</sup> A. Tuck, *Crown and Nobility 1272-1461: Political Conflict in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>24</sup> Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 371-2; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 135-51; J. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster 1307-1322: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), 190-239. The 'middle party' is discussed further below, 68-70.

<sup>25</sup> N. Fryde, *The Tyranny and Fall of Edward II 1321-1326* (Cambridge, 1979).

<sup>26</sup> M. McKisack, 'Edward III and the Historians', *History*, 45 (1960), 1-15.

<sup>27</sup> M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England 1272-1377* (London, 1980), 129-37. For policies of royal patronage see also M. Prestwich, 'Royal Patronage under Edward I', in P. R. Coss and S. D. Lloyd (eds), *Thirteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 1986), 41-52.



roughly the same time, however, there was a growing sense that national politics had been allowed to dominate the historiography of the period at the expense of local dynamics. As Ormrod pointed out, ‘the primary concern of any medieval nobleman lay with his family, his estates, and his ‘country’ – the region where he enjoyed a political and social pre-eminence’.<sup>28</sup> Here (as noted above), Holmes led the field with his study of the estates, households and retinues of the nobility, and the result of what Tuck termed ‘magnate history’ has been a greater understanding of the local concerns of the aristocracy, their relationship with the gentry, and the importance of the county community within society and politics.<sup>29</sup>

Although there was some criticism during the 1990s of the extent to which historians have concentrated on the relationships of later medieval monarchs with their magnates, and the degree to which they have emphasized the importance of patronage, these factors are still seen by most scholars as a vital key to understanding the events of this period.<sup>30</sup> Revisionism is, of course, ongoing – Bothwell’s recent analysis of Edward III’s rapport with his peerage, which questions whether his patronage policy was really so even-handed, is a prime example.<sup>31</sup> The study of early fourteenth-century history is, in fact, experiencing something of a revival at present. The recent publication of three ‘popular’ biographies attests to growing public curiosity,<sup>32</sup> whilst the academic field has seen the publication of a new study of Edward II and a volume of articles on the reign of Edward III.<sup>33</sup> The results of a symposium devoted to the reign of Edward II, held at the

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<sup>28</sup> W. M. Ormrod, *The Reign of Edward III: Crown and Political Society in England 1327-1377* (New Haven, 1990), 110. See also Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 175.

<sup>29</sup> Holmes, *Estates of the Higher Nobility*; Tuck, *Crown and Nobility*, 289.

<sup>30</sup> See the summary of new historiographical perspectives between 1985 and 1999 in Tuck, *Crown and Nobility*, 288-300.

<sup>31</sup> J. S. Bothwell, *Edward III and the English Peerage: Royal Patronage, Social Mobility and Political Control in Fourteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, 2004).

<sup>32</sup> I. Mortimer, *The Greatest Traitor: The Life of Sir Roger Mortimer, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of March, Ruler of England, 1327-1330* (London, 2003); P. Doherty, *Isabella and the Strange Death of Edward II* (London 2003); A. Weir, *Isabella: She-Wolf of France, Queen of England* (London, 2005).

<sup>33</sup> R. M. Haines, *King Edward II: Edward of Caernarfon, His Life, His Reign, and Its Aftermath* (Montreal, 2003); J. S. Bothwell (ed.), *The Age of Edward III* (York, 2001).



University of Nottingham in 2004, have also been published very recently.<sup>34</sup> Despite the currently healthy state of scholarship, however, much work remains to be done in this area and the present study hopes to contribute towards our current understanding of the period.

This is the historiographical context within which this biography of Norfolk will be written. Much of our current knowledge about early fourteenth-century history has been brought about by biographical studies,<sup>35</sup> and yet the genre of historical biography was the subject of a considerable amount of criticism during the previous century. Elton asserted that ‘even at its best biography is a poor way of writing history’, while Chapman described the historical biographer as ‘a pitiable and ludicrous figure, stumbling out of one quagmire into another’.<sup>36</sup> Carr reluctantly stopped short of claiming that ‘good biography makes bad history’, but would only concede that ‘*some* biographies are serious contributions to history’.<sup>37</sup>

So why has historical biography been the subject of so much criticism? During the early twentieth century this was at least in part due to a growing awareness of the faults often found in biographies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. During the eighteenth century the doctrine of the ‘dignity of history’ had developed, which espoused the idea that scholars should be selective in the use of their sources in order to portray history as a continuum of dignified events, played out by morally impeccable individuals. Literacy was on the rise amongst the lower classes, and there was an element of concern that the portrayal of vices and misdeeds might lead these readers

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<sup>34</sup> G. Dodd and A. Musson (eds), *The Reign of Edward II: New Perspectives* (Woodbridge, 2006).

<sup>35</sup> To the biographies already mentioned above should be added the following: R. M. Haines, *The Church and Politics in Fourteenth-Century England: The Career of Adam Orleton c.1275-1345* (Cambridge, 1978); R. M. Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church ca. 1275/80-1348* (Toronto, 1986); J. S. Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston Earl of Cornwall 1307-1312: Politics and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II* (Detroit, 1988); P. Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston: Edward II's Adoptive Brother* (Oxford, 1994).

<sup>36</sup> G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History* (London, 1967), 169-70; H. W. Chapman, ‘Notes on Historical Biography’, *Times Literary Supplement* (28 August 1959), 498.

<sup>37</sup> E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (London, 1961), 41-2 (present author’s italics).



astray.<sup>38</sup> In the following century, the ‘dignity of history’ was reborn in the form of ‘exemplary history’. Victorian biographers were at best selective of their sources, at worst deliberately misrepresentative of the facts in order to present ‘a gallery of worthies, whose role was to sustain a respect for the nation’s political and intellectual elite’.<sup>39</sup>

The worst faults of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century biographers are things of the distant past, but more recently the genre as a whole has suffered because of poorly written ‘popular’ biographies. Many biographies intended for public consumption display thorough research and a sound understanding of historical principles. There are, though, undoubtedly others in which modern day ideas and values have been allowed to insinuate themselves, or where too great an affinity with the subject of the biography has led to a distorted portrayal. Marion Meade’s biography of Eleanor of Aquitaine is a prime example. Meade writes from the outset under the assumption that Eleanor’s life was ‘a struggle for the independence and political power that circumstances had denied her’ – an assumption which she does not show to have had any historical basis during Eleanor’s own life, and which is more probably a product of feminist thought current at the time of her writing.<sup>40</sup> Despite her assertion that she has not fictionalized her account, Meade also ascribes imaginary thoughts and emotions to Eleanor, giving some justification to Carr’s assertion that many biographies belong not to history but to literature, like the historical novel.<sup>41</sup> A distinction should, of course, be maintained between ‘academic’ and ‘popular’ biography – while the purpose of the former is to engage with historical debate, the aim of the latter must be to a certain degree to entertain. This is not, however, always recognized. Elton, for instance, makes no distinction, and in viewing biography as a ‘handicap’, he attempts to

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<sup>38</sup> J. W. Reed, *English Biography in the Early Nineteenth Century 1801-1838* (New Haven, 1966), 38-9.

<sup>39</sup> J. Tosh, *The Pursuit of History: Aims, Methods and New Directions in the Study of Modern History* (Harlow, 1999), 75-7.

<sup>40</sup> M. Meade, *Eleanor of Aquitaine: A Biography* (London, 1977), vii-xi.

<sup>41</sup> Carr, *What is History?*, 41-2; Meade, *Eleanor of Aquitaine*, xi.



completely disassociate history from the genre by claiming that ‘biography is really a separate art’.<sup>42</sup>

Although historical biography has been tainted by association with poorly written ‘popular’ biographies, changing trends within the field of history itself have been far more damaging. Traditionally, the study of history meant the study of political events and institutions, and so long as political history dominated, the biographies of kings, conquerors, statesmen and other great men held a valued place. Individuals were important, they shaped events, and therefore Carlyle and his contemporaries could claim that ‘History is the essence of innumerable Biographies’.<sup>43</sup> The social and economic transformations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, though, caused historians to reassess traditional practices. In France, Bloch and Febvre founded what is now commonly referred to as the *Annales* school of history, calling for historians to turn their attention to social and economic issues. In England economic and social history was also gaining ground, and many scholars became deeply critical of traditional political history with its emphasis on the importance of the individual. Marwick’s view that ‘the individual biography is a less significant area of study for the historian than a society’ became widely held, and Carr scorned what he termed the ‘Bad King John theory of history – the view that what matters in history is the character and behaviour of individuals’.<sup>44</sup> The growth of social and economic history also sparked a debate as to the best method of historical discourse. While traditional narrative writing with its chronological structure was viewed as adequately suited to political history or to the study of an individual’s life, it was argued that it could not deal with the complexities of social change or economic trends. Analysis, with its themed rather than chronological structure, was considered to be the best method of demonstrating interrelations and

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<sup>42</sup> Elton, *Practice of History*, 169. For further discussion of ‘popular’ biography see A. Fraser, ‘The Value of Biography in History’, *Historian*, 66 (2000), 4-9.

<sup>43</sup> T. Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays in Five Volumes* (London, 1899), iii. 167.

<sup>44</sup> A. Marwick, *The Nature of History* (Basingstoke, 1989), 165-6; Carr, *What is History?*, 39-42. See also the discussion of historical categories in Tosh, *Pursuit of History*, 72-90.



causal connections.<sup>45</sup> It was a short step to disparage narrative as superficial, and to argue that ‘biographical narrative encourages a simplified, linear interpretation of events’.<sup>46</sup>

The one positive result of all the criticism directed towards historical biography is that biographers are now highly aware of the faults traditionally associated with the genre and have been encouraged to develop fresh methods and perspectives. In recent years the genre of historical biography has undergone something of a rehabilitation, and justifiably so. In 2000 Jordanova wrote that ‘whereas biographies used to be thought of as conventional and frumpy, it is now becoming clear how rich in historical insights they can be’, further commenting that ‘in a single individual’s life we see many factors at play...in this way reconstructing a life can be a form of *histoire totale* on a limited scale’.<sup>47</sup> Even more recently, Haines has asserted his stance that ‘despite the modern preoccupation with “cultures” I remain committed to the concept that individuals exert a significant influence on events’,<sup>48</sup> and narrative as well as biography is also by no means without its defendants.<sup>49</sup> Today, biographies are rarely purely political or confined solely to a narrative discourse. An individual’s political involvement might play a very secondary role, as in Stringer’s biography of Earl David of Huntingdon, which gives priority to an analysis of his cross-border estates.<sup>50</sup> In other works the narrative might be successfully broken with an analysis of factors such as the working of an individual’s household, as is the case in Labarge’s biography of Simon Montfort.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, the present study takes account not only of Norfolk’s political role, but also has chapters devoted to social issues and economic factors such as the nature of

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<sup>45</sup> See the debate about narrative, description and analysis in Elton, *Practice of History*, 150-5, 160-77.

<sup>46</sup> Tosh, *Pursuit of History*, 75-7.

<sup>47</sup> L. Jordanova, *History in Practice* (London, 2000), 41-2.

<sup>48</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, ix.

<sup>49</sup> Elton, *Practice of History*, 150-77; P. Munz, ‘The Historical Narrative’, in M. Bentley (ed.), *Companion to Historiography* (London, 1997), 851-72.

<sup>50</sup> K. J. Stringer, *Earl David of Huntingdon 1152-1219: A Study in Anglo-Scottish History* (Edinburgh, 1985).

<sup>51</sup> M. W. Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (London, 1962), 85-104.



aristocratic childhood, the composition of Norfolk's household and retinue, and the administration of seigneurial estates, making use of both narrative and analytical discourse where appropriate. By doing so, it is intended to demonstrate that the genre of historical biography is a highly valuable form of historical research.

Turning to the source-base for this study, the wide variety of evidence that will be used to elucidate Norfolk's life can be broadly grouped into five categories: chronicles; ecclesiastical records; government documents; estate accounts; and personal documents such as correspondence and charters. It has already been noted above that Norfolk plays a peripheral role in the majority of the contemporary chronicles and that his importance only becomes clear through a detailed examination of other types of evidence, which has implications as to how historians should initially approach their research. Nevertheless, it is thanks to the chroniclers that there are some extant descriptions of the circumstances surrounding Norfolk's birth, as well as contemporary judgements regarding his character and abilities.<sup>52</sup> The chronicles are a resource that no historian would wish to be without, acting as a valuable gauge by which to assess contemporary opinion and often providing unique accounts of events. With specific reference to Norfolk, one of the most significant chronicles is the *Annales Paulini*, which not only describes a number of his activities in London, but also notes the occasion of his knighting at York in 1319. Although Richardson has suggested that 'large parts of the chronicle are hardly worth the reading', the chronicler's narrative of events which took place in London often have the appearance of being eyewitness accounts, and it is probable that the author(s) was a canon of St Paul's writing between 1307 and 1341.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> The evidence of the chroniclers in relation to Norfolk's birth is discussed below, 30-3. For his character, see *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed. J. Viard and E. Déprez, 2 vols. (Paris, 1977), i. 6, and below, 125-8, 202-3.

<sup>53</sup> 'Annales Paulini', in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. (London, 1882-3), i. 285-6, 317, 333-4, 343-4, 349, 353-4; H. G. Richardson, 'The *Annales Paulini*', *Speculum*, 23 (1948), 630-40. For the authorship of this chronicle also see: A. Gransden, *English*



Each chronicle does, of course, present its own problems in terms of interpretation. Like the *Annales Paulini*, for instance, the date and authorship of the *Vita* are uncertain. Denholm-Young suggested that its author may have been Master John Walwayn, a canon of Hereford Cathedral and of St Paul's in London who died in 1326, which would explain the abrupt ending of the chronicle in late 1325, as well as the reason why the writer seems particularly knowledgeable about the Herefordshire and Gloucestershire area.<sup>54</sup> Childs has recently argued that it was too audacious of Denholm-Young to put forward the name of Walwayn without any corroborating evidence, but has been unable to propose another convincing candidate, and so the authorship of the *Vita* remains uncertain.<sup>55</sup> As for the date of its composition, Denholm-Young's belief that it was written in early 1326 has been challenged by Given-Wilson's analysis, which suggests that it was more of a journal than a memoir, begun in about 1310 and added to at least every couple of years.<sup>56</sup> Knowing how soon a chronicle was written after the events it describes has implications as to precisely how it is used by historians – Childs is inclined to accept Given-Wilson's argument, and describes its importance as immense because 'it means that we can use the *Vita* more subtly, to monitor constantly changing attitudes to central politics and personalities'.<sup>57</sup> Even if the authorship and date of a chronicle are clear, however, further problems can arise from the author's particular viewpoint. Most of the chronicles of Edward II's reign are avidly pro-baronial, with the one notable exception of the history written by Geoffrey Baker, who is equally biased in favour of Edward II and in his attempts to vilify Isabella, Mortimer and their adherents, and who wrote somewhat after the event – probably

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*Historical Writing in England*, 2 vols. (London, 1974-82), ii. 25-9; J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), 27.

<sup>54</sup> N. Denholm-Young, 'The Authorship of *Vita Edwardi Secundi*', *EHR*, 71 (1956), 189-211; *Vita*, ed. Denholm-Young, xxiv-xxviii.

<sup>55</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, xxiv-xxii.

<sup>56</sup> *Vita*, ed. Denholm-Young, xvi-xviii; C. Given-Wilson, 'Vita Edwardi Secundi: Memoir or Journal?', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 1997), 165-76.

<sup>57</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, xix-xxiii. See also W. Childs, 'Resistance and Treason in the *Vita Edwardi Secundi*', in Prestwich et al. (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VI*, 177-91.



between 1341 and 1346.<sup>58</sup> Gransden has also pointed out that royal and secular patronage became an increasing influence during the fourteenth century and gives the example of Robert of Reading, whose consistent criticism of Edward II in his continuation of the *Flores Historiarum* may indicate that he was writing an official history for Isabella and Mortimer around the time of the coronation of Edward III.<sup>59</sup>

Although some laymen were beginning to write historical literature by the fourteenth century (such as Andrew Horn, warden of the London fishmongers, chamberlain of the city of London, and probable author of the *Annales Londonienses*), this was still largely the province of the Church, and in particular the monasteries.<sup>60</sup> The Church was a prolific producer and keeper of records during the medieval period, and this study will make use of a number of ecclesiastical documents. These include letter collections, such as those of Prior Henry of Eastry – a seemingly well-informed individual whose correspondence with the archbishop of Canterbury prior to Isabella and Mortimer's invasion is of great interest.<sup>61</sup> Ecclesiastical registers (many of which have now been published) are also of enormous value, especially in recording presentations to benefices which are useful in examining ties of patronage. Entries in bishops' registers are not always very detailed – the record of presentations tends only to give the essential facts, such as the date on which it took place, the names of the individuals involved and the benefice in question – but they do often also include lengthier entries which might provide unique information. For example, the register of Walter Stapeldon, bishop of Exeter, records that on 22 February 1316 at Lincoln he received homage from Norfolk for the manor of Bosham in Sussex, and furthermore

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<sup>58</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889); Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, 27-8.

<sup>59</sup> A. Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), 213-214; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H. R. Luard, 3 vols. (London, 1890), iii. 137-235.

<sup>60</sup> This chronicle covers the period 1194-1330 and provides an independent record from 1316 onwards: 'Annales Londonienses', in *Chronicles*, ed. Stubbs, i. 1-252; Gransden, *Legends*, 204-6; Gransden, *English Historical Writing*, ii. 23-5.

<sup>61</sup> *Litterae Cantuarienses: The Letter Books of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury*, ed. J. B. Shepherd, 3 vols. (London, 1887-9).



gives the names of three knights present there, who are described as '*familiaribus dicti comitis*' – a rare, specific reference to the men serving in Norfolk's retinue at this time.<sup>62</sup>

Extensive use will also be made of the various records of royal government, which by the early fourteenth century had undergone a 'quantum leap' in terms of volume and included ten major series of chancery rolls, the records of the exchequer, law courts and parliament, and the accounts of the royal household.<sup>63</sup> The chancery documents – of which the close, patent, fine and charter rolls are perhaps the most commonly used – record a wide variety of information, from summonses to parliament and military musters to royal grants and commissions. Since magnates sometimes sought royal confirmation of their own charters and indentures, their details often still survive in the patent rolls where they were transcribed and confirmed by the king even when the original document has long since disappeared, and a number of Norfolk's own grants have survived in this manner and would otherwise have been completely lost.<sup>64</sup> Whilst the importance of most government records are widely recognized, the records of the royal household have long had a reputation for consisting largely of a repetitive mass of trivial and irrelevant detail, and are still an under-utilized resource.<sup>65</sup> The extensive use of household records in the first chapter of this biography hopes to go some way towards dispelling this perception, and a translation of an unpublished wardrobe book from Norfolk's childhood household is given in Appendix 3 with this aim in mind. On the whole, government records are a relatively reliable source of evidence, although they can be highly formulaic and it should also be noted that whilst

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<sup>62</sup> *The Register of Walter de Stapeldon, Bishop of Exeter (A.D. 1307-1326)*, ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph (London, 1892), 88.

<sup>63</sup> M. Prestwich, 'English Government Records, 1250-1330', in R. Britnell (ed.), *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West* (Woodbridge, 1997), 95.

<sup>64</sup> For two examples of Norfolk's grants which have survived only through royal confirmation in the patent rolls, see TNA C66/193 m. 23, 19, calendared in *CPR, 1338-1340*, 97, 104-5.

<sup>65</sup> As long ago as 1925 Johnstone commented that the value of royal household records had failed to win recognition because of this perception: H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of the Sons of Edward I', *BIHR*, 2 (1925), 37.



the published calendars of chancery rolls are of enormous benefit, they cannot always be relied upon to provide a full and accurate translation of the original document.<sup>66</sup>

By 1300 there had been a 'shift from memory to written record' within most sections of English society, resulting in a dramatic increase in the number of records being both written and preserved.<sup>67</sup> This change was by no means confined to the realms of church and government – seigneurial records such as household and estate documents survive in ever-greater number from thirteenth century onwards, and by 1300 they were highly standardized, providing the historian with invaluable information about lordship, economy and society in the localities.<sup>68</sup> One of Norfolk's estate accounts for the manor of Framlingham in Suffolk from 1324-25 has survived, and has already been fully edited and published.<sup>69</sup> The fact that only one estate account from a single manor is still extant presents its own particular problems, in conjunction with those arising from the peculiarities of medieval accounting, and these will be discussed in greater length at the relevant point.<sup>70</sup> Nevertheless, the account roll is a good example of the detail provided by estate documents, giving the names and duties of many of Norfolk's officials, his profits from the issues of lordship and the customary rents owed by his tenants, as well as the flow of grain and livestock into and out of the manor.

The letters and charters of lay lords were also more prolific by 1300. The majority of Norfolk's surviving letters and charters relate to land transactions, and so are also of great relevance to the study of his estate administration, as well as to his use of patronage through the granting of land. Unfortunately these documents sometimes lack a specific date, and the names of witnesses (which are so invaluable when studying retinues) are not always given. Records of a single membrane such as these are prone to

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<sup>66</sup> The limitations of the published calendars are well-illustrated in *Handbook and Select Calendar of Sources for Medieval Ireland in the National Archives of the United Kingdom*, ed. P. Dryburgh and B. Smith (London, 2005), 48-120.

<sup>67</sup> M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1993), 5.

<sup>68</sup> M. Bailey, *The English Manor c.1200-c.1500* (Manchester, 2002), 106-116.

<sup>69</sup> *Medieval Framlingham: Select Documents 1270-1524*, ed. J. Ridgard (Woodbridge, 1985), 51-85.

<sup>70</sup> See below, 178-9.



loss and damage, but although Norfolk's letters and indentures could not be said to have survived in great number, examples can be found at The National Archives, in private repositories such as Berkeley Castle Muniments, and in local record offices.<sup>71</sup>

Other documents which do not conveniently fit into any of the categories outlined above but which are also worthy of mention here are those relating to the marshalship of England, and in particular the tract entitled *Les usages que Thomas de Brotherton fils au roy clamoit a user per l'office mareschalsie*, referred to henceforth as the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable. This treatise lists the military duties and emoluments of the marshal of England, and its importance lies in the fact that it is the most detailed account of the marshalship in the fourteenth century, purportedly relating to the time when the office was held by Norfolk. A serious complication arises, however, from that fact that no copy of the manuscript survives before the reign of Richard II. It is therefore used with some caution in this study, and a discussion of its date together with a transcript of the document is given in Appendix 4.

To summarize, the purpose of this study is to produce the first detailed biography of Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, to rectify widely held erroneous opinions about his career, and to assess whether current judgments regarding his character are justified. By doing so, it intends to engage in and contribute towards historical debate surrounding the early fourteenth century, such as the nature of childhood in the medieval period, the relationship between Crown and nobility and the importance of patronage as a source of conflict, and the changes taking place in lordship and magnate influence in the localities. It hopes to modify current views regarding the merits of historical biography, as well the value of studying individuals who may not have been assigned a prominent role in the chronicles, but whose analysis can make a significant contribution to our knowledge of early

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<sup>71</sup> Some of Norfolk's surviving correspondence can be found at TNA SC1. For other of his documents, see: BCM D5/1/7; Norfolk Record Office, Norwich, Y/C 31/6; Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, HD1538/202/1/127, 128, and 130.

fourteenth-century aristocratic society. It will be based upon a detailed examination of a wide variety of sources, and includes a translation and a transcription of two relevant documents. The first of these – a wardrobe book from 1305 – is one of the most important sources for the study of Norfolk's childhood, which is the subject of the following chapter.



## CHAPTER ONE

### Childhood, 1300-1312

Thomas of Brotherton (as he will be referred to throughout this chapter, since it pertains to the period before he was granted his titles), was born on 1 June 1300. By January 1301 Edward I had created for him a separate royal household, which was to take responsibility for his well-being and to cater for his various needs. Thomas shared this royal household with his younger brother, Edmund of Woodstock, until December 1312 when he was granted his own revenue in the form of the earldom of Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> By using the financial and administrative records of Thomas's household in conjunction with contemporary chronicles and extant correspondence, this chapter will examine the circumstances surrounding his birth, the personnel and organization of his household, the manner of his early relationships, and the nature of his upbringing. Childhood during the medieval period is relatively poorly documented and it is unusual for any evidence to survive concerning the upbringing of even royal and aristocratic children. In her biography of Simon Montfort, for example, Labarge was able to do no more than to suggest that 'his upbringing must have followed the general pattern of any noble child' in the early thirteenth century, and Goodman could find little more information about the early childhood of John of Gaunt who lived a century later.<sup>2</sup> This study, then, is important not only because it provides a context for Thomas's adult life and actions, but also because of the contribution it can make towards our knowledge of princely courts, aristocratic childhood and noble attitudes towards children during this period.

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<sup>1</sup> For the date of his birth, see *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulitoris Garderobiae, Anno Regni Regis Edwardi Primi Vicesimo Octavo, A.D. MCCXCIX et MCCC*, ed. J. Topham (London, 1787), 44. The first extant reference to his household occurs on 6 January 1301: CCR, 1296-1302, 416. He was granted the earldom of Norfolk on 16 December 1312: TNA C53/99, m. 14, calendared in CChR, 1300-1326, 205-6.

<sup>2</sup> Labarge, *Simon de Montfort*, 22-4; A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992), 28-41.



Before embarking upon an examination of Thomas of Brotherton's earliest years, it is pertinent to look first at the current state of research into medieval childhood, and at the types of sources which will be used here. The study of children in past eras is a relatively recent field, usually said to have begun in the 1960s with the work of Philippe Ariès – 'the founder of the study of the history of childhood'.<sup>3</sup> In *Centuries of Childhood*, Ariès looked at changes in parent-child relationships over time and argued that 'in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist'.<sup>4</sup> He was unable to find any rites of passage marking the transition from infancy to adulthood and suggested that once out of swaddling, children were regarded as small, weak and inadequate adults. Not only was there 'no place for childhood in the medieval world', but parents at this time were also entirely indifferent to their offspring because so many of them died before reaching maturity.<sup>5</sup> Ariès strongly disagreed with the theory that the family as a social unit had degenerated during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and his purpose in writing was to demonstrate that the family (as centred upon the needs and development of children) was not of ancient origin, but rather a modern construct not in evidence before the middle decades of the seventeenth century. His belief that there was no concept of childhood in the medieval period and that parents were indifferent to their children was based on a cursory examination of medieval etymology, iconography and dress.

Ariès' arguments were nevertheless highly influential, and adherents of his thesis espoused an evolutionary view of parent-child relationships over the centuries in which children gradually emerged from a world of neglect, abuse and abandonment into a society where their emotional, educational and developmental needs are given priority. Lloyd de Mause – the most extreme proponent of this view – made somewhat

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<sup>3</sup> S. Crawford, *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud, 1999), xi.

<sup>4</sup> P. Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. R. Baldick (New York, 1962), 128.

<sup>5</sup> Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, 33, 39, 51.



selective use of the evidence available to describe a ‘nightmare’ world of children in the past, which fitted in with his psycho-analytical model of developments in parenting through time.<sup>6</sup> Sommerville’s work, which lacks thorough and detailed research and which consequently appears to be a series of generalizations about children throughout history, can be cited as a less drastic example of this school of thought.<sup>7</sup>

Over the last two decades Ariès and his adherents have been the subject of increasingly heavy criticism.<sup>8</sup> This has been occasioned by a growing body of highly scholarly research into medieval childhood, which has made detailed use of a wide variety of evidence such as archaeological finds, iconography, legal records, historical literature (including hagiographies, romances, poetry and religious sermons), and even funeral monuments. Using sources such as these, Crawford, Shahar, Orme and Finucane have all found evidence to suggest that the idea of childhood did exist in the Middle Ages, and have furthermore gone a long way towards illustrating what life would have been like for children living at this time.<sup>9</sup> It is to this body of research that the present analysis hopes to contribute.

A related area of research that must be mentioned here is the study of subsidiary royal households and princely courts. In the first half of the twentieth century Johnstone looked in some detail at the households of two of Edward I’s sons – Henry, and Edward of Caernarfon – which were established during the late thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> She and Sharp also contributed a section on the households belonging to the Black Prince and

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<sup>6</sup> L. de Mause, ‘The Evolution of Childhood’, in L. de Mause (ed.), *The History of Childhood: The Evolution of Parent-Child Relationships as a Factor in History* (London, 1976), 1-54.

<sup>7</sup> C. J. Sommerville, *The Rise and Fall of Childhood* (Beverly Hills, 1982).

<sup>8</sup> For criticism of Ariès and historiographical surveys of childhood history, see: L. A. Pollock, *Forgotten Children: Parent-Child Relations from 1500 to 1900* (Cambridge, 1983), 1-67; J. A. Schultz, *The Knowledge of Childhood in the German Middle Ages, 1100-1350* (Philadelphia, 1995), 1-20.

<sup>9</sup> Crawford, *Childhood*; S. Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages* (London, 1990); N. Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984); N. Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven, 2001); R. C. Finucane, *The Rescue of the Innocents: Endangered Children in Medieval Miracles* (Basingstoke, 1997).

<sup>10</sup> H. Johnstone, ‘The Wardrobe and Household of Henry, Son of Edward I’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 7 (1922-3), 384-420; H. Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon 1284-1307* (Manchester, 1946).



several medieval queens in Tout's *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*.<sup>11</sup> With historical trends moving away from constitutional and administrative history (as previously outlined), this field of interest attracted little further attention until recently, when Vale published a lengthy work on princely courts in which he described the administration and culture of a considerable number of subsidiary royal households across north-western Europe between 1270 and 1380.<sup>12</sup> Ormrod has also recently made a significant contribution with an article outlining the household set up by Edward III for his younger children in 1340.<sup>13</sup> These studies enable comparisons to be made between Thomas of Brotherton's establishment and other roughly contemporary princely courts, and are therefore of great value in providing a context within which to assess his household and upbringing.

Turning to the sources, the majority of the information discussed below has been obtained from the financial and administrative records produced by Thomas's household officials. These have survived in considerable number amongst other government records (there are over forty documents in total) because the household accounted to the king's wardrobe. The collection of household documents was listed as long ago as 1925 by Hilda Johnstone, but they were never the subject of thorough analysis and Ormrod has only recently written that 'the relatively large amount of documentation relating to Edward I's provision for his children by Eleanor of Castile and Margaret of France has still not been exploited to the full'.<sup>14</sup> The most informative of the documents are the wardrobe books and the household rolls, which were both presented for audit at the end of the financial year, and which in combination were

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<sup>11</sup> H. Johnstone and M. Sharp, 'Two Lesser Households', in T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, The Chamber and The Small Seals*, 6 vols. (Manchester, 1920-33), v. 231-440.

<sup>12</sup> M. Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe 1270-1380* (Oxford, 2001).

<sup>13</sup> W. M. Ormrod, 'The Royal Nursery: A Household for the Younger Children of Edward III', *EHR*, 120 (2005), 398-413.

<sup>14</sup> H. Johnstone, 'The Wardrobe and Household Accounts of the Sons of Edward I', *BIHR*, 2 (1925), 37-45; Ormrod, 'Royal Nursery', 400.



intended to provide a full record of the receipts and expenditures of Thomas's wardrobe and household during that period. The household rolls recorded the total expenditures of each of the household departments (which consisted of the chamber, chapel, hall, kitchen, pantry, buttery, scullery, saucery and stables) on a daily basis, with weekly, monthly and yearly totals given at the appropriate intervals. Although these rolls do not record the individual items that were bought by each department, they are highly useful because marginal notes were usually made of the location of the household and the arrival of visitors in order to account for any increases in usual expenditure.<sup>15</sup> By contrast the wardrobe books (of which four have survived) do detail individual items of expenditure incurred by the wardrobe, organized under a series of headings, or *tituli*. These headings sometimes vary, although the documents are on the whole highly standardized and items are commonly listed under *Recepta* (Receipts), *Elemosina* (Alms), *Necessaria* (Necessities), *Dona* (Gifts), *Nuncii* (Messengers), *Feoda Militum* (Knights' Fees), *Calciamenta et Robe* (Shoes and Robes), and *Magna Garderoba* (Great Wardrobe). At the end of the account the sum total is usually given for the expenses of the wardrobe and household for the given period. A transcript# of the wardrobe book for 1305 has been provided in Appendix 3, since this a fairly typical example and demonstrates the kinds of valuable information that can be gleaned from such records.<sup>16</sup> In addition to the wardrobe books and household rolls there are a variety of other administrative documents, including rolls recording the liveries given to the members of the household, notes of classified expenses, and indentures for money or victuals being delivered.

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<sup>15</sup> For a typical household roll in good condition, although covering only a short period from 11 October to 19 November 1301, see TNA E101/360/12.

<sup>16</sup> The wardrobe book of which a transcript has been given covers the period 13 February to 19 November 1305 and can be found at BL Add. MS 37656. The other three wardrobe books cover the periods 20 November 1305 to 19 November 1306 (TNA E101/368/12); 30 September 1310 to 29 September 1311 (BL Add. MS 32050); and 30 September 1311 to 29 September 1312 (TNA E101/374/19).



The majority of the household records were written in Latin, although occasionally Old French is used, for instance in a list of various goods which were delivered to the queen and her son shortly after his birth.<sup>17</sup> There is a period of three years between 1307 and 1309 for which no records have survived, but the other years from 1301 to 1312 are well documented and the quantity of sources that has survived is remarkable, even in comparison with other contemporary royal households. While four wardrobe books from Thomas's household have survived, for example, only three are still extant from Queen Isabella's household, and one of these has been badly damaged by fire.<sup>18</sup> The condition of the documents from Thomas's household is generally good, although the wardrobe books have tended to survive better than the household rolls, perhaps because instead of being flat the latter were made by stitching membranes of parchment together at the top and bottom to form a continuous roll, and which therefore have not been as practical to store over the centuries.

In addition to the household records, use will also be made of a number of other sources such as government documents, letters and chronicles. Amongst the records of government, the chancery rolls sometimes note the king's orders regarding the running of his sons' household, while accounts of the king's wardrobe occasionally refer to payments made to it. Letters containing information about Thomas's early years are rare and are often in poor condition (one such letter which was written to Edward I with news of the queen and her children is so badly faded as to be almost illegible),<sup>19</sup> but the few that have survived add a personal element that is often absent in the purely administrative records. It is largely thanks to the chronicles that we know so many details surrounding Thomas's birth. Although Edward I already had a male heir – Edward of Caernarfon – the birth of another son to the king was a noteworthy event.

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<sup>17</sup> TNA E101/357/20 (this indenture of items delivered to Queen Margaret and Thomas in 1300, is discussed further below, 33).

<sup>18</sup> *The Household Book of Queen Isabella of England For the Fifth Regnal Year of Edward II 8<sup>th</sup> July 1311 to 7<sup>th</sup> July 1312*, ed. F. D. Blackley and G. Hermansen (Edmonton, 1971), xi.

<sup>19</sup> TNA SC1/21/160.



Pierre Langtoft, for example, gives a broadly accurate and contemporary account of events in his French verse chronicle as discussed below, if using somewhat romanticized language.<sup>20</sup> The chronicler Rishanger, who is believed to have been a monk of St Albans, also paid particular attention to Thomas's birth. His interest may have been sparked by the fact that Thomas's mother, Queen Margaret of France (the daughter of Philip III by his second wife, Marie of Brabant, and thus the half-sister of Philip IV – see Figure 1) stayed at St Albans for three weeks shortly after her marriage, during which time she gave alms and showed great favour to the monastery.<sup>21</sup>

Both Langtoft and Rishanger describe the marriage of Edward I to Margaret of France, which had been negotiated by Pope Boniface VIII as part of his attempt to arbitrate a peace treaty between England and France. War had broken out between these two countries in 1294, when Philip IV of France had confiscated Edward I's duchy of Gascony following a shipping dispute and Edward I's refusal to heed a summons to the *parlement* in Paris from his feudal overlord. The ensuing war was costly to both sides and resulted in a truce in 1297, as well as an agreement that Boniface VIII should arbitrate a permanent settlement in his private, rather than papal, capacity. Boniface's solution was – in essence – a return to the status quo prior to the outbreak of war in 1294, with the agreement being sealed by the marriage of Edward I to Philip IV's half-sister, Margaret, and of Edward of Caernarfon to Philip IV's daughter, Isabella. In June 1299 at Montreuil-sur-Mer, the ambassadors of the English and French kings confirmed this agreement (although in the event Gascony was not to be returned until 1303, and the marriage of Edward of Caernarfon and Isabella did not take place until 1308).<sup>22</sup> Margaret landed at Dover on 8 September 1299, accompanied by a prestigious retinue

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<sup>20</sup> *The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, In French Verse, From the Earliest Period to the Death of King Edward I*, ed. T. Wright, 2 vols. (London, 1866-8), ii. 316-25. For a discussion of Langtoft's chronicle see Gransden, *English Historical Writing*, i. 476-85.

<sup>21</sup> *Willelmi Rishanger, Quondam Monachi S. Albani et Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales, Regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo*, ed. H. T. Riley (London, 1865), 401-2.

<sup>22</sup> *Willelmi Rishanger*, 388-90; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 376-400; J. R. Strayer, *The Reign of Philip the Fair* (Princeton, 1980), 314-24.



that included the duke of Burgandy. At Dover she was greeted by a contingent of English noblemen and taken to Canterbury, where two days later she was married to Edward I by Archbishop Winchelsey, and where several days of feasting and games ensued in celebration of the event.<sup>23</sup> Doherty has recently described Edward I as ‘reluctantly’ putting his seal to the Montreuil-sur-Mer treaty, but in fact the king had a great deal to gain from his marriage to Margaret of France.<sup>24</sup> At the time of his second marriage Edward I was sixty years of age, and although his first wife Eleanor of Castile had given him at least fourteen children before her death in 1290, only one son – Edward of Caernarfon – had survived into adulthood.<sup>25</sup> While there is no evidence that Edward of Caernarfon suffered from poor health, taking a second wife in the expectation that she would produce further male heirs must have seemed like a sensible precaution in order to ensure the safety of the throne.

Edward I must have been gratified, therefore, that the nineteen or twenty year-old Margaret conceived immediately. She was delivered of her first child, Thomas, at the small manor of Brotherton near Pontefract in Yorkshire on 1 June 1300.<sup>26</sup> Arrangements had been made for the birth to take place at the archbishop of York’s manor of Cawood, towards which Margaret had been travelling, but clearly the queen was either delayed along the way or Thomas was born earlier than anticipated.<sup>27</sup> Edward I (who had been travelling northwards for the summer campaign against the Scots) was immediately informed, and rewarded the queen’s valet who brought him the news with £133 6s. 8d.<sup>28</sup> Langtoft poetically describes Edward I as having rushed to visit the

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<sup>23</sup> *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds 1212-1301 (Chronica Buriensis 1212-1301)*, ed. A. Gransden (London, 1964), 152-3; *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ii. 318-21; *Willelmi Rishanger*, 394-7.

<sup>24</sup> Doherty, *Isabella*, 15.

<sup>25</sup> Edward I’s children by Eleanor of Castile are listed in Prestwich, *Edward I*, 125-7.

<sup>26</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, 44; *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 109; *Willelmi Rishanger*, 438-9.

<sup>27</sup> During April and May 1300, various individuals were assigned the task of ensuring that Cawood was prepared for the queen’s arrival in June: *Liber Quotidianus*, 61, 93, 108-9. For Margaret’s itinerary immediately prior to the birth see K. Staniland, ‘Welcome, Royal Babe! The Birth of Thomas of Brotherton in 1300’, *Costume*, 19 (1985), 6-8.

<sup>28</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, 182.



queen 'like a falcon before the wind'.<sup>29</sup> This is corroborated by Edward I's itinerary, which shows that on 1 June he was at Riccall and Selby in Yorkshire, but that he had reached Brotherton by nightfall. Edward I stayed only one night, but returned to Brotherton from 9 to 12 June, probably to attend his son's baptism.<sup>30</sup>

Rishanger states that at his baptism Thomas was named in honour of St Thomas Becket to whom Queen Margaret had prayed during her difficult labour, and after which '*sine difficultate peperit filium suum primogenitum*'.<sup>31</sup> There is no reason to doubt the validity of this particular story, and the king's wardrobe book records that on 2 June one of his servants was sent to Canterbury to give 7s. in offering at the shrine of St Thomas on behalf of the queen and her son.<sup>32</sup> Childbirth was a risky undertaking, and there is evidence of other female members of the royal family using relics or calling on saints whilst in labour. During one pregnancy, for instance, Edward I's mother, Eleanor of Provence, was lent a girdle by Westminster Abbey which was said to have belonged to the Virgin Mary, and she also named a daughter after St Margaret to whom she had prayed during the birth.<sup>33</sup> This should not, however, be taken to suggest that Edward I did not have any role in the naming of his son. It may well have been the king himself who first introduced Margaret to the cult of the English saint – indeed they had received a special blessing at his altar in Canterbury on the day of their wedding.<sup>34</sup> That Edward I believed in the healing powers of St Thomas is suggested by the fact that earlier in his reign he had ordered a wax figure to be made of one of his ailing falcons, which was to be placed before the saint's shrine at Canterbury in the hope of its recovery.<sup>35</sup>

Furthermore, on 23 February 1300 Edward I and Prince Edward had made an offering at

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<sup>29</sup> '*cum falcoun al vent*': *Chronicle of Pierre Langtoft*, ii. 324-5.

<sup>30</sup> *Itinerary of Edward I*, ed. E. W. Safford, 3 vols. (London, 1974-7), ii. 156-7. Baptism was usually carried out about one week after birth, which would fit in with Edward I's second visit to Brotherton: Shahar, *Childhood*, 46.

<sup>31</sup> *Willelmi Rishanger*, 438.

<sup>32</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, 38.

<sup>33</sup> Orme, *Medieval Children*, 16-18.

<sup>34</sup> Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe!', 10.

<sup>35</sup> P. Chaplais, 'Some Private Letters of Edward I', *EHR*, 77 (1962), 80; M. Prestwich, 'The Art of Kingship: Edward I, 1272-1307', *History Today*, 35 (1985), 35.



Becket's shrine '*pro fetu adhuc existente in ventre Regine*', and it is possible that the king was already planning to name his child in honour of St Thomas should it prove to be male.<sup>36</sup> Maddicott has also pointed out that both of Edward I's sons by Queen Margaret shared their names with his brother and nephew, Edmund and Thomas of Lancaster, and so familial ties may also have played a role in the naming.<sup>37</sup>

Rishanger relates one other story in relation to Thomas's birth. He says that at first Thomas was given a French wetnurse, but that he vomited her milk and was so sickly that everyone feared for his life until she was replaced by an Englishwoman, after which he made a full recovery.<sup>38</sup> Rishanger has clearly put a patriotic emphasis on this story, but there is some evidence to suggest that it may be essentially factual. It was common for noblewomen in this period to delegate the breastfeeding of their infants to a wetnurse, a practice which enabled the mother to conceive again more readily.<sup>39</sup> Margaret's midwife was a Frenchwoman from Paris named Agnes, and the queen may likewise have chosen a wetnurse from amongst her fellow countrywomen. Furthermore, in January 1301 Margaret is recorded in the king's wardrobe book as having given 10s. to the Friars Minor of Doncaster for the exequies of Thomas's nurse, named as Joan, who had died. The illness and sudden death of his wetnurse could provide a medical explanation for Thomas's rejection of her milk. That he had indeed not been breastfeeding properly is suggested by another entry from February 1301, which details a payment to the queen's physician who had been sent to Northampton in order to approve the milk of his wetnurse – a method which was also later employed when his younger brother, Edmund of Woodstock, was ill.<sup>40</sup> It should be noted that an entry from

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<sup>36</sup> *Liber Quotidianus*, 29; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 112; Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 45.

<sup>37</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Willelmi Rishanger*, 438-9.

<sup>39</sup> An exception is Edward III's wife, Queen Philippa, who is said to have breastfed Edward of Woodstock herself: B. Emerson, *The Black Prince* (London, 1976), 9. For contemporary nursing practices, see: Shahar, *Childhood*, 53-76; Orme, *Medieval Children*, 52, 57.

<sup>40</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A, fos 25r, 33r, 68r-v (king's wardrobe book, 1300-1301); TNA E101/363/14, m. 2 (list of household expenses, 1303) provides an example of a physician being employed to check the health of Edmund of Woodstock's wetnurse. Also see Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe!', 10.



the king's wardrobe book in November 1300 refers to Thomas's wetnurse as a local Englishwoman from Brotherton, but this should not be interpreted as evidence against the validity of Rishanger's story, as he would almost certainly have had more than one wetnurse.<sup>41</sup> On 7 July 1300 Edward of Caernarfon gave a gift of £6 13s. 4d. to Thomas's nurses (plural), and as a child Edward I himself had at least two wetnurses.<sup>42</sup>

From the outset, Thomas of Brotherton was an extremely privileged child who was provided with the luxuries appropriate to his status. In April and August 1301 Edward I granted certain farms (including those of Congresbury, Cheddar and Leeds) to Queen Margaret in recompense for the expenses incurred by her after the birth of her first son.<sup>43</sup> The nature of these expenses can be gleaned from an indenture listing the various goods delivered to Margaret and Thomas while they were still at Brotherton soon after his birth. This indenture reveals that Thomas had two cradles, one furnished with thirteen ells of Lincoln scarlet, and the other with the same quantity of blue cloth. His sheets were made from fifty-five ells of Rheims linen, and he was also given two fur coverlets and one 'tissue' of silk and gold thread. His chamber was draped with two golden cloths from Turkey, four hangings decorated with heraldic devices and – at the specific order of the king – six striped drapes. Bedding and clothing was also provided at the same time for the queen's ladies and maids, and for Thomas's nurses and cradle-rocker (or *berceresse*). Margaret had ordered for herself two red samite cloths to make a robe for her purification ceremony, which was to be lined and hooded with miniver.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A, fos 71r-v, describes his nurse as a '*mulier de Brothertone*'.

<sup>42</sup> '*Nutricibus Domini Thome ... de dono Domini Edwardi fratris sui*': *Liber Quotidianus*, 169; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> *CCR*, 1302-1307, 19, 58; *CPR*, 1292-1301, 604

<sup>44</sup> The indenture, TNA E101/357/20, lacks a specific date giving only the regnal year 28 Edward I. That the goods listed had not been delivered prior for the birth is clear from the fact that Thomas is referred to in the indenture by name. The goods must have been delivered shortly after his birth, however, as Margaret had clearly not yet undergone her purification, or churaching, ceremony. For a published translation of the indenture see Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe!', 2-3.



Margaret and Thomas would have remained at Brotherton until after the queen's purification, which Staniland has suggested took place on 3 July.<sup>45</sup> Subsequently they appear to have travelled to Cawood (where the birth had been intended to take place) and stayed there until 9 September, at which time Margaret travelled northwards to meet Edward I at Carlisle.<sup>46</sup> Thomas probably remained at Cawood, but an entry in the king's wardrobe book for the relevant period shows that by Christmas he had been reunited with both of his parents at Northampton.<sup>47</sup> It was shortly after Christmas that Edward I established a separate household for Thomas. The first extant reference to this household occurs on 6 January 1301, when the king ordered twenty tuns of wine to be delivered to it.<sup>48</sup> The following day various items (including altar cloths, chalices and vessels for holding holy water) were delivered to the clerk of Thomas's wardrobe for use in his chapel.<sup>49</sup>

The creation of separate households for royal princes in England dates back to at least the time of Henry III, who established a *hospicium* for his son – the future Edward I – in about 1254.<sup>50</sup> The constant journeying of the royal court was both impractical and unsuitable for small children, whilst placing royal offspring in the care of a noble household lacked prestige. In the case of Thomas of Brotherton, his permanent residence in the household of either the king or the queen was rendered unfeasible by the king's campaigns against the Scots during the early fourteenth century, on which he was sometimes accompanied towards the border by the queen. Taking Thomas on the

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<sup>45</sup> Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe!', 9.

<sup>46</sup> Langtoft says that after her purification the queen and Thomas left Brotherton and stayed at Cawood while Edward I was on campaign in Scotland. Staniland's examination of Margaret's itinerary at this time suggests that she and Thomas were indeed at Cawood between 12 July and 9 September: *Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft*, ii. 325; Staniland, 'Welcome, Royal Babe!', 9.

<sup>47</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 25v, records a payment to the friars of Northampton for their services on Christmas Day and the five days following to the king, queen and Thomas.

<sup>48</sup> CCR, 1296-1302, 416.

<sup>49</sup> TNA, E101/360/15, m. 1-2, is an indenture listing the goods delivered for the chapel. A transcript of this document is given in Vale, *Princely Court*, 357. The king's wardrobe book also notes the purchase of a censer, two caskets, and one incense-boat for Thomas's chapel in January 1301: BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 36v.

<sup>50</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, i. 256. The future Edward I was assigned his own chamber at Windsor Castle as early as August 1239: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 5.



lengthy journey to the Anglo-Scottish border might have risked not only his health, but also his safety – in 1319 Queen Isabella was almost captured at York by the opportunism of marauding Scots.<sup>51</sup> Had Edward of Caernarfon been younger, Thomas might conceivably have been placed in his household, but by the time of Thomas's birth Edward of Caernarfon was already sixteen years of age and had begun to accompany his father on military campaigns.<sup>52</sup>

It should be noted that the younger children of Edward III and Queen Philippa were usually resident in the royal household. A separate establishment was created for them temporarily in the summer of 1340, but Ormrod has noted that this was due to the exceptional circumstances of the king's activities in the Low Countries at this time. When Edward III returned to England sooner than expected in November 1340, this separate household was soon disbanded and his children returned to live within the royal court.<sup>53</sup> The normal perambulations of the king and queen should not, therefore, be interpreted as having been an unassailable obstacle to royal children living at court, and further reasons should be sought for the creation of a separate household for Thomas of Brotherton in January 1301. A further motivation may lie in the issue of status and prestige, especially given that Thomas was the product of a second marriage. Queen Margaret was herself born of an uneasy second royal marriage – her mother, Marie of Brabant (the second wife of Philip III), was accused of having poisoned her eldest stepson Louis, and subsequently neither Margaret, nor her mother or brother Louis of Evreux, received the favour typically lavished on other members of the royal family.<sup>54</sup> Margaret may, therefore, have been keen that from the outset her son should be provided with his own *hospicium* as a visible demonstration of his prestige, and his status as a favoured son of the king.

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<sup>51</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 162-7.

<sup>52</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 12-20.

<sup>53</sup> Ormrod, 'Royal Nursery', 404-6.

<sup>54</sup> E. A. R. Brown, 'The Prince is the Father of the King: The Character and Childhood of Philip the Fair of France', *Mediaeval Studies*, 49 (1987), 321-5; Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, 6.



Turning to the structure and administration of Thomas of Brotherton's household, Vale has noted that the organization of princely courts was largely similar throughout Europe, and that in England subsidiary royal households 'not only reflected the broad traits of the king's own establishment, but shared many common features with continental households'.<sup>55</sup> Thomas's *hospicium* certainly seems to have followed very similar lines to those of the king and queen (if on a somewhat smaller scale). It consisted of the departments that one would expect – as already listed above – and was run by the steward, the keeper of the wardrobe and other chief officials, with a host of clerks and other menial servants beneath them.

In common with other princely courts across Europe at this time, Thomas's household was also notably hierarchical in composition. Thomas and his companions were naturally at the apex of this hierarchy. It was common for royal children to be given the companionship of other young nobles in their households. In 1254, for instance, Edward I's brother, Edmund Crouchback, was living with five or six other noble children at Windsor Castle. The companions of Edward I's son, Prince Henry, included his sister Eleanor, his cousin John of Brittany (later the earl of Richmond), and a number of wards of the Crown. In 1301 Edward of Caernarfon had at least ten companions, including four of his sisters, his cousin Gilbert Clare, and Piers Gaveston.<sup>56</sup> Thomas of Brotherton shared his household with his brother, Edmund of Woodstock, who was born on 5 August 1301 and who had been placed in the *hospicium* by the end of that year. During 1306 their younger sister Eleanor was resident with them, after which she probably lived with their mother until her early death in 1311. Thomas's niece, Margaret Bohun (the daughter of his half-sister Elizabeth and her husband, the earl of Hereford – see Figure 1), also stayed in the household between

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<sup>55</sup> Vale, *Princely Court*, 49.

<sup>56</sup> Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389-91; Johnstone, *Edward of Caernarfon*, 75; Orme, *Childhood to Chivalry*, 28.



1303 and 1305, as did Edward Balliol (the son of John Balliol, the deposed Scottish king) from 1310 onwards.<sup>57</sup>

The individuals principally in charge of running the household were the keeper of the wardrobe, the steward, the household knights and the *magistra* (these and other members of the household are listed in Appendix 2). The keeper of the wardrobe, Master John Claxton, was responsible for all financial matters within the household and served throughout the period from 1301 to 1312. The financing of the household was not an easy task (as discussed in greater detail below) and Claxton's demanding duties often seem to have necessitated his absence. He was regularly called to London to account to the king's wardrobe or to the exchequer, and at other times travelled ahead of the rest of the household to ensure that the manors they intended to visit were fully prepared to receive his wards.<sup>58</sup> Between 20 February and 19 November 1305, John Claxton was absent from the household for a total of 102 days because he was attending to such duties, and this high figure may not have been unusual. Similarly in 1340 William Hoo, keeper of the wardrobe in the childhood household of Edmund of Woodstock, the Black Prince, visited London at least six times in six months to attend to household business.<sup>59</sup>

The steward of the household, Sir John Weston the elder, also served from 1301 to 1312. During his youth he had been a ward of the Crown, and as such had resided in Prince Henry's household during the early 1270s.<sup>60</sup> Edward I must have thought him a capable figure since his duties would have been wide-ranging, including the responsibility for the general welfare of his charges as well as the running of, and discipline within, the household itself. In addition to acting as steward, John Weston

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<sup>57</sup> For references to Margaret Bohun and Eleanor staying in the household, see: TNA E101/369/15, m. 1 (household roll, 1305-1306); TNA E101/363/12 (roll of liveries, 1302-1303); TNA E101/367/3, m. 2 (roll of expenses, 1304-1305). On 20 September 1310 the earl of Warenne was ordered to deliver Edward Balliol to the household: *CCW, 1244-1326*, (London, 1927), 327.

<sup>58</sup> TNA, E101/374/19, fo. 4v; BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 6r.

<sup>59</sup> BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 7v (Appendix 3#); Johnstone and Sharp, 'Two Lesser Households', 315-6.

<sup>60</sup> Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 389-90.



was also listed as one of the household knights, of whom there were usually two or three within the household at any given time. The second household knight during the years 1301 to 1306 was Sir Stephen Venusse, whose place was taken in later years by Sir Walter of Norwich and Sir Richard Bourhunt (who had previously served Edward I as the sheriff of Somerset and Dorset).<sup>61</sup>

On the next rung down the hierarchy within the household were the clerks, who served within the main departments of the *hospicium* and recorded the day-to-day business conducted in these offices, and the squires – a diverse group, some of whom headed the household departments, while others served in capacities such as marshal, usher of the chamber or serjeant-at-arms. Beneath the clerks and squires were the more numerous yeomen of the chamber and valets, who performed services as varied as candle-making, tailoring or delivering letters. Finally, at the lowest level within the household were the grooms, serving boys and stable hands.

Although the household was predominantly masculine in composition, Thomas was surrounded by a number of women for at least his first six years. The highest ranking woman was Lady Edeline Venusse – the wife of the household knight, Stephen. The first extant reference to Edeline occurs in August 1301, when she is referred to in the king's wardrobe book as Edmund of Woodstock's nurse.<sup>62</sup> It is clear that she had soon taken overall responsibility for the welfare of both Thomas and Edmund, as the household records refer to her not as a nurse but as the '*magistra dominorum filiorum Regis*'.<sup>63</sup> Edeline's task was to ensure the general well-being of Thomas and Edmund and she played an active part in their childhood, often making offerings on their behalf at masses, buying luxurious goods for their chamber, or ordering various items of

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<sup>61</sup> CCR, 1307-1313, 209.

<sup>62</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 47v.

<sup>63</sup> See for instance, BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 2r (Appendix 3#). Similarly, the equivalent female figure entrusted with the care of the young Edward I, Sybil Giffard, had initially acted as the midwife at his birth: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 5.



clothing for them.<sup>64</sup> Her role was an important one given the inability of Thomas and Edmund's own mother to directly oversee their upbringing, and when Edward III and Queen Isabella created a household for their four younger children in 1340, they similarly appointed a *chief maistresce* called Lady Isabella Mote, who performed comparable duties.<sup>65</sup>

Lady Edeline would also have been in charge of the other female members of the household, who included a damsel to wait upon her, a number of chamber girls and assistants, and a laundress. Thomas and Edmund (and Eleanor and Margaret Bohun while resident in the household), each had their own wetnurse and a woman to rock the cradle. Thomas's wetnurse was called Mabelle Raundes, and his rocker's name is given as Eremburse. Such women were often highly valued members of the household, who might be retained long after their charges were weaned and out of the cradle. Edward of Caernarfon's wetnurse, Alice Leygrave, remained a member of his household until he married in 1307.<sup>66</sup> Thomas's wetnurse served in the household until at least 1306, as did Edmund's rocker, Perrette Porssy, and this suggests that they continued to play an important care-giving role for a number of years after their primary services had ceased to be needed. In total, fifteen women were employed in the household between 1301 and 1306. Although no more than twelve women were ever in service at any one time, the household as a whole during these years numbered roughly between thirty and eighty individuals, and so women represented a significant proportion of its total membership. By 1310, however, all of the women had disappeared (with the sole exception of the laundress), and their place was taken by an increasing number of men who maintained a household size of between about fifty-five and seventy persons (see

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<sup>64</sup> For example see TNA E101/363/14, m. 1 (household expenses, 1303).

<sup>65</sup> Ormrod, 'Royal Nursery', 401-3, 409-11.

<sup>66</sup> Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 9.



Appendix 2).<sup>67</sup> This shift in the household demographic suggests that, whilst care and nurture had been deemed an important element in Thomas's early childhood, by 1310 the emphasis had moved towards a more masculine environment in which education and training were to take priority.

The rewards for serving in Thomas's household consisted of an annual fee (which in the case of the knights was 10 marks),<sup>68</sup> and an allowance for robes and shoes several times a year, depending on the status of the individual. If a servant was fortunate enough to attract the attention of the king or queen, then further rewards might be forthcoming in the form of gifts or favours. In October 1305, for example, the queen gave monetary gifts to Lady Edeline, Mabile Raundes and Perrette Porssy.<sup>69</sup> In 1310 Edward II pardoned the household knight, Sir Richard Bourhunt, of a debt of £79 7s. 9½d. in consideration of his services to the late king, and to Thomas and Edmund.<sup>70</sup> In May 1319 the former household steward, Sir John Weston the elder, received a pension of fifty marks per annum for the remainder of his life.<sup>71</sup> Rewards such as these were not made with any regularity, and yet many members of the household served for lengthy periods. It has already been noted that Master John Claxton and Sir John Weston the elder served throughout the period from 1301 to 1312, as did Thomas Weston, John Tynerval, Stephan Dupham (the chandler), John Fleming and others. The analysis given in Appendix 2 suggests that there was a considerable degree of continuity in terms of household membership, and some servants continued in Thomas's employ during his adult life.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>67</sup> These figures are based upon individuals receiving wages and liveries. Two documents listing John Claxton's debts suggest that there were other menial servants who did not receive a regular annual wage or livery, and therefore the actual size of the household may have been somewhat larger: TNA E101/374/11 (indenture of John Claxton, 1310-12); TNA E101/363/11 (list of household debts, 1302-1303); Appendix 2.

<sup>68</sup> BL Add. MS 32050 fo. 12r.

<sup>69</sup> They were given 10 marks, £4 and 11s. respectively: BL Add. MS. 37656, fo. 4v ( Appendix 3#).

<sup>70</sup> *CCR*, 1307-1313, 209.

<sup>71</sup> *CPR*, 1317-1321, 341.

<sup>72</sup> Discussed further below, #.



The running of Thomas and Edmund's household was an expensive business: the two princes had to be clothed and provided with horses and other necessities appropriate to their status; the members of their household had to be paid their wages together with allowances for robes and shoes; the entire household had to be provided with food and drink; and carters had to be paid for transporting the chapel and wardrobe around the countryside according to the household's perambulations. So how exactly was the household financed? For the first nine years money and victuals seem to have been obtained in a rather haphazard manner from a variety of sources. The main supplier was no doubt the king's wardrobe, but the *hospicium* was also maintained by local officials or townsmen, who in return received tallies for presentation at the exchequer where they would be reimbursed, or where the corresponding sum would be deducted from the amount they owed to the Crown. In 1301, for instance, the mayor and burgesses of Northampton were supplying money and victuals to the household, while a series of indentures dating from 1303 to 1305 (when Thomas was largely resident at Windsor) suggests that the sheriff of Berkshire was the main source of funding during these years.<sup>73</sup> With such varied and uncertain sources of income, it is not surprising that John Claxton had to spend so much time in London and elsewhere attending to financial matters. In 1310, though, Edward II came up with a more practical solution to the problem posed by the funding of the household of his half-brothers. In July of that year he assigned some of the estates which had come into the hands of the Crown in 1306 after the death of Roger Bigod IV, earl of Norfolk, to Thomas and Edmund for their sustenance, and in October 1311 he granted Thomas sole seisin of Chepstow Castle in the March of Wales. On behalf of his younger brothers, Edward II appointed Robert Darcy as the custodian of Chepstow Castle and John Thorpe was made keeper of the

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<sup>73</sup> TNA E101/360/13, m. 1-2 (debts of the household, 1301); TNA E101/582/7, m. 1 and m. 4 (payments for Brotherton at Windsor, 1303-1305).



lands in Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>74</sup> John Claxton still had to account to the king's wardrobe, but he now had a predictable source of income with which to work.

So how much did the running of the household actually cost? During 1305 and 1306 the annual expenditure of the household seems to have been around £800, while the wardrobe spent another £500, making a total yearly expenditure of roughly £1,300.<sup>75</sup> By 1308-1309 this cost had increased to nearly £1,800. In 1310-11, though, it had dropped once more to £1,500 – a figure which tallies well with the amount that the household was now obtaining in receipts from the various lands that had been granted to Thomas and Edmund, which from 30 September 1310 to 29 September 1311 amounted to £1,428 16d.<sup>76</sup> The expenditure of the *hospicium* clearly varied from one year to the next, and would have depended upon factors such as the length of time that Thomas and Edmund spent at the royal court (during which time their expenses were paid for directly by the king's wardrobe), or the number and status of visitors to their household in a given year. An annual expenditure of around £1,500 can be taken as an approximate average.

By means of comparison, the household of Prince Henry over a period of nearly two years between 8 February 1273 and 27 October 1274 spent a meagre £300 11s. 3¼d. and consisted of a *familia* numbering only thirty to forty persons. Johnstone has pointed out though, that the majority of Prince Henry's short life was spent either at the already garrisoned castle of Windsor or in the company of his grandmother, Eleanor of Provence (who had a large body of servants), and so he would have needed fewer servants of his own and this would have resulted in lower expenses.<sup>77</sup> By contrast, the establishment belonging to Edward of Caernarfon was by far the largest of

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<sup>74</sup> *Foedera, Conventiones, Litterae, et Acta Publica*, ed. T. Rymer, 5 vols. (London, 1816-30), ii.(i), 111; *Flores Historiarum*, 334; CCR, 1307-1313, 279; CFR, 1307-1319, 67; TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3v.

<sup>75</sup> TNA E101/367/4, m. 4 (household roll, 1305); TNA E101/369/15, fo. 7r; TNA E101/368/11 (household expenses, 1305-1306); BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 8r (in the case of the latter document, allowance has to be made for the fact that the account only covers 8 months rather than a year, see Appendix 3#).

<sup>76</sup> TNA E101/374/19, fo. 2v; BL Add. MS 32050, fos. 2r-3v; Tout, *Chapters*, vi. 120.

<sup>77</sup> Johnstone, 'Wardrobe and Household of Henry', 384-92.



contemporary princely households. In the 1290s his *hospicium* had outgoings of well over £3,000 and in 1300 a roll of liveries recorded a total of 140 servants.<sup>78</sup> Prince Edward did, of course, have four adult sisters living with him for much of this time as well as a considerable number of royal wards, and his needs and expenses would naturally have increased with age. The household belonging to Thomas and Edmund, with its membership of up to eighty servants and outgoings of about £1,500 per annum, is probably more representative of the typical princely court at this time. Directly comparable is the household set up by Edward III in 1340 for his four younger children, which had a membership of sixty-seven individuals and cost £970 over the eight months during which it was in existence.<sup>79</sup> The household of John of Brabant (the son of Duke John I) towards the end of the thirteenth century also seems to have been similar in size, comprising about fifty members, although unfortunately there is no information relating to the expenses of this establishment.<sup>80</sup> Thomas and Edmund's household would also have rivalled those of the majority of magnates during the early fourteenth century in terms of both size and expenditure, thereby fulfilling its purposes of providing for their needs and demonstrating their status.

Due to the nature of the documents, it is much easier to analyse the structure and administration of Thomas's household than to illuminate the nature of his early relationships with family members. Nevertheless, by using the household accounts in conjunction with other government records, personal correspondence and the chronicles, some useful observations can be made. For instance, although Thomas was not a permanent resident in the royal household, there is evidence to suggest that he spent frequent and sometimes lengthy periods either at court or in the company of his mother. The household roll for 1305 records no expenses from 13 February to 18 April, or between 12 October and 17 November, because both Thomas and Edmund were

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<sup>78</sup> Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 11-12.

<sup>79</sup> Ormrod, 'Royal Nursery', 403, 406-7.

<sup>80</sup> Vale, *Princely Court*, 49-50.



staying with the king and queen during these months.<sup>81</sup> Two letters written to Edward I also provide further evidence. One of these letters, which is dated 18 October 1301, sends the king news of the queen, Thomas and Edmund, and their half-sisters Elizabeth and Mary, who had been staying together at Hereford a few days earlier.<sup>82</sup> The other undated letter is from Elizabeth telling her father about the health of the same individuals who, she writes, had all recently departed from Chichester.<sup>83</sup> Whilst with her sons, Margaret took care to ensure that they were being adequately and appropriately provided for. Throughout 1305 the queen's cofferer, Thomas Querlee, was frequently reimbursed by Thomas and Edmund's household officials for items that he had purchased for them by order of the queen.<sup>84</sup> At other times Margaret sent them gifts, including an iron bird cage, and kept in close correspondence with them. The contents of these letters are not usually recorded, although on 18 November 1306 it was noted in the household wardrobe book that the queen's cook was rewarded for bringing letters to Thomas and Edmund from the queen containing '*bonos rumores de prospero statu Regis*'.<sup>85</sup>

Edward I has typically been seen as a rather severe, irascible and intimidating figure, especially during his later years. His relationship with his elder children by Eleanor of Castile was sometimes tempestuous (the occasions on which he threw his daughter Elizabeth's coronet into the fire and tore out clumps of Edward of Caernarfon's hair are well-known and need not be repeated here).<sup>86</sup> In many ways the extant correspondence between Edward I and his youngest sons does little to dispel this image of austerity. He clearly had very high expectations of his two youngest sons. In September 1302 (when Thomas was aged just two years old and Edmund only one),

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<sup>81</sup> TNA E101/367/4 (household roll, 1305).

<sup>82</sup> TNA SC1/21/169.

<sup>83</sup> TNA SC1/62/36.

<sup>84</sup> BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 3r (Appendix 3#).

<sup>85</sup> TNA E101/368/12, fo. 4v.

<sup>86</sup> For the king's temper, his relationship with family members and the incidents mentioned above, see Prestwich, *Edward I*, 108-33.



Edward I sent instructions to John Weston the elder that they were to attend a mass at Canterbury and to make an offering of seven shillings each, after which Weston was to report on how well they had attended to the service. In another letter to Thomas and Edmund sent in 1305, the king commanded his sons to make sure that the park at Kennington where they were staying was well enclosed, so that his hunting would be successful when he came to visit them there. They were also to be prepared to look after him as well as Prince Edward had done at Langley.<sup>87</sup> Clearly Edward I did not expect them to oversee these matters directly, but the tone of the letter suggests that he was keen to encourage them to take an interest and pride in the running of their establishment. Edward I did also, though, demonstrate a concern for the welfare of his sons, and was eager to hear news of them. On 21 September 1306 the king gently reprimanded a certain Margery Haustede for not having informed him of his children's welfare, and demanded to know of *'lor estate e coment il cressent e coment il sont juantz, vistes, legiers e menantz'*.<sup>88</sup> On occasion he sent orders that a particular castle or manor was to be repaired in preparation for the arrival of his sons to ensure that they would be appropriately housed, or issued specific commands as to how much charcoal and brushwood should be supplied for their fires.<sup>89</sup>

Edward I could also be very generous towards family members. He acted unscrupulously in order to advance the prospects of his brother, Edmund, and lavished dresses, jewellery and carriages on his daughters.<sup>90</sup> He was equally obligated to provide for his sons by Margaret of France, and Prestwich has suggested that this need to secure a landed endowment for them 'undoubtedly influenced his patronage policies'.<sup>91</sup> This issue may indeed have been at the forefront of the king's dealings with Roger Bigod IV, earl of Norfolk, in 1302. In the early 1300s Bigod was an elderly man for the time –

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<sup>87</sup> TNA SC1/14/88; TNA, SC1/63/51; also transcribed in Chaplais, 'Some Private Letters', 81-5.

<sup>88</sup> Chaplais, 'Some Private Letters', 86.

<sup>89</sup> CCR, 1302-1307, 291, 386, 400.

<sup>90</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, 254-8; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 128-9.

<sup>91</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 131.



probably about sixty years of age – and he had no children by either his first or second wife. The estates pertaining to his earldom were held in fee simple, and therefore his brother could expect to inherit them upon his death. In April 1302, however, Edward I persuaded Bigod to surrender the majority of his estates and the marshalship of England, which the king then regranted to him in fee tail with reversion to the Crown. By this means Bigod's brother was disinherited, and the earldom of Norfolk and the office of the marshalship would revert to the king's hands when Bigod eventually died. In return, Edward I granted manors and farms worth £1,000 per annum to Bigod, and the custody of the castles of Bristol and Nottingham. He also later pardoned him his debts to the Crown.<sup>92</sup>

Precisely why Bigod agreed to disinherit his brother in this manner is unclear. The chroniclers felt that Bigod had either been pressured into the surrender by Edward I as a consequence of his opposition to the Crown in 1297, or that he had done it to spite his brother with whom he had fallen out over financial matters.<sup>93</sup> Historians have suggested that by 1302 Bigod was deeply in debt (Nugent has calculated that he owed as much as £20,000 to the king alone), and that this was his motivation.<sup>94</sup> In any case, by 1306 (if not before) Edward I had decided that the Bigod estates should form part of Thomas's patrimony. On 1 August of that year, the king formally set out in a letter patent the financial provisions that were to be made for his two sons by Margaret of France. Thomas was to receive the earldom of Norfolk which was valued at 6,000 marks, and also additional lands and rents to the value of a further 4,000 marks, giving him a total bequest of 10,000 marks or roughly £6,660 per annum. As the youngest son,

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<sup>92</sup> *CPR, 1301-1307*, 29-31, 317.

<sup>93</sup> *Willelmi Rishanger*, 215; *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957), 352; *Scalachronica: The Reigns of Edward I, Edward II and Edward III as Recorded by Sir Thomas Gray*, ed. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1907), 36. For further analysis of the 1302 surrender (and especially the accounts given by the chroniclers) see M. Morris, 'The 'Murder' of an English Earldom? Roger IV Bigod and Edward I', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds), *Thirteenth Century England IX* (Woodbridge, 2003), 89-100.

<sup>94</sup> W. F. Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', *Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 85 (1955), 75; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 537-8; McFarlane, *Nobility*, 262.



Edmund was to receive a little less — unspecified lands and rents to the total value of 7,000 marks per year. These grants were to be made '*dedenz les deus annz procheinz suantz apres la date de cestes lettres*', in other words by 1 August 1308, and the letter patent outlined not only Edward I's obligation to carry out the grant, but also that of his son, Edward of Caernarfon.<sup>95</sup> As McFarlane has pointed out, Edward I would no doubt also have arranged an advantageous marriage for Thomas, and he may well have intended that eventually his wealth should challenge that of Thomas of Lancaster.<sup>96</sup>

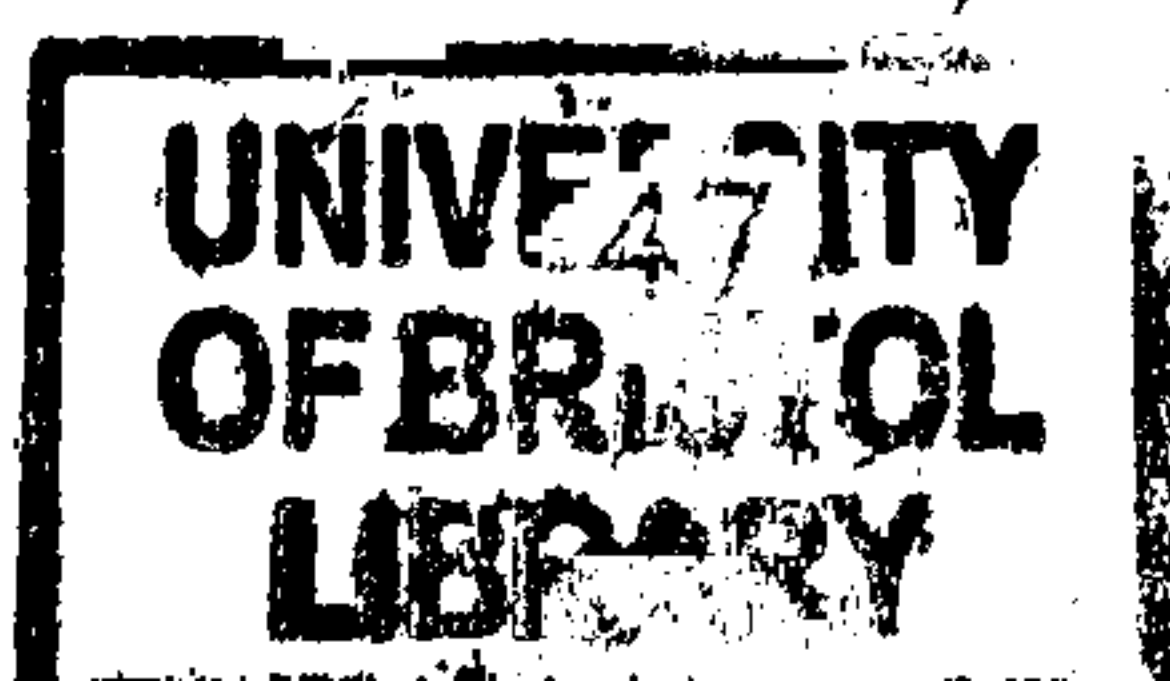
In the event, Edward I himself did not live long enough to grant the earldom of Norfolk and the other 4,000 marks of rents and lands to Thomas. With Edward I's death at Burgh-by-Sands in Cumbria on 7 July 1307,<sup>97</sup> Thomas became dependent upon his elder half-brother Edward of Caernarfon — now Edward II — for his continuing welfare and prosperity. Edward I had been explicit as to the value of the estates that should be given to his youngest sons, and Edward II had an obligation to fulfil his wishes in this matter in the future, whilst ensuring that in the meantime they continued to receive an appropriate upbringing. However, it was five years before Edward II finally granted the earldom of Norfolk to Thomas, and the king has been criticised by both contemporaries and historians for failing to put the needs of his brothers before those of his favourite, Piers Gaveston, during the early years of his reign. Edward II's first act as king was to create Gaveston earl of Cornwall, and the author of the *Vita* suggested it was this (in addition to the contemporary perception of Gaveston as a proud and haughty foreigner) that caused the magnates' hatred for him. In a passage seemingly written before 1312, the *Vita* states that 'the old lord king Edward had decided that the earldom of Cornwall should be conferred upon one of his sons, Thomas or Edmund; but his sad death,

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<sup>95</sup>At the end of August 1306 Edward I also made arrangements for his daughter, Eleanor, who was to receive a dowry of 10,000 marks and an additional 5,000 marks for her trousseau: *Foedera*, i.(ii), 998.

<sup>96</sup>McFarlane, *Nobility*, 265.

<sup>97</sup>In subsequent years Thomas and Edmund marked the anniversary of Edward I's death with a high mass held in his honour. See, for example, BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 4r.





intervening, prevented what was appropriate from being carried out'.<sup>98</sup> Some historians have noted this passage and have repeated the assertion that Edward I intended that the earldom of Cornwall should be bestowed on Thomas of Brotherton, but that Edward II disregarded his father's wishes and his brother's interests.<sup>99</sup> The author of the *Vita* also expressed surprise that in January 1308 Gaveston (who had only so recently returned from exile), was appointed as keeper of the realm whilst Edward II was in France for his marriage to Isabella.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps on the basis of this, Chaplais has suggested that it might have been more appropriate had Edward II given the regency to either Thomas or Edmund, but that the king 'preferred his adoptive brother to his two half-brothers' and so they were 'passed over to make room for Piers Gaveston'.<sup>101</sup>

How justified are these criticisms? The earldom of Cornwall had previously been held by members of the royal family, but the arrangements specified by Edward I on 1 August 1306 made no mention of it (even though the earldom had already reverted to the Crown in 1300 on the death of Edmund of Cornwall), and there is no solid evidence to suggest that the king intended it to be given to one of his youngest sons.<sup>102</sup> Furthermore, although Edward II could have left Thomas to act as regent in January 1308 instead of Gaveston, it would have been a rather impractical decision since he was still only seven years old, and the king may also have felt it unwise to place his younger half-brother in the spotlight at a time when he was without an heir of his own and when his magnates were already showing increasing signs of dissatisfaction. In Edward II's defence, he was by no means unconcerned with the welfare of his younger brothers and

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<sup>98</sup> '*dominus Edwardus rex senior uni ex filiis suis Thome uel Edmundo comitatum Cornubie contulisse decreuerat; set mors amara preueniens factum quod erat conueniens fecit imperfectum*'. That this passage was written before Gaveston's execution in 1312 is suggested by the author's comment that 'I fear that his pride will bring about his ruin and headlong fall' ('*set uereor ne superbia in ruinam et precipium ipsum deuoluat*'): *Vita*, ed. Childs, 28-29.

<sup>99</sup> Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 32-5; Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 30-1; *DNB*, lvi. 152-3.

<sup>100</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 8-9.

<sup>101</sup> Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 30-1, 34-5.

<sup>102</sup> *Foedera*, i.(ii), 998



sometimes sent gifts to them, such as firewood for their hearths in winter.<sup>103</sup> Edward II's extant letters show that he wrote to Thomas and Edmund to ask after their well-being at least four times in 1305.<sup>104</sup> He also sometimes visited them in their household, for instance between 27 and 29 August 1305 when various luxuries (including various types of sugar, dill, dried ginger and electuaries of pine seed and sandalwood) were bought from apothecaries of London and Florence for his consumption.<sup>105</sup> It has already been suggested that Edward II's joint grant to Thomas and Edmund in 1310 of the English estates which had formerly belonged to Roger Bigod improved the financial administration of their household.

Edward II cannot however, be entirely exonerated, and the grant made by him to Thomas and Edmund in 1310 was only a very partial fulfilment of his obligations as laid down by Edward I in August 1306. It might be argued that the massive debts of around £200,000 inherited by Edward II from his father at the time of his accession disinclined him from immediately granting Thomas and Edmund their patrimonies, but since these debts did not prevent him from alienating the earldom of Cornwall to Piers Gaveston in 1307, this is a poor defence.<sup>106</sup> Furthermore, a petition survives from Queen Margaret to Edward II and his council in which she requests that the king '*ordener et avancer lestat de vos freres Thomas et Edmon nos enfaunts*'. This document is a skilful piece of diplomacy, in which Margaret tactfully reminds the king that the advancement of Thomas and Edmund had been the dearest wish of their father Edward I, further adding that '*cest la chose du mond qe nous plus desirrons*'.<sup>107</sup> Margaret of France has so far attracted little attention from historians, but Parsons has demonstrated that she was adept at intercessionary patronage, and this petition would seem to provide

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<sup>103</sup> CCR, 1307-1313, 295, 304.

<sup>104</sup> *Letters of Edward, Prince of Wales, 1304-1305*, ed. H. Johnstone (Cambridge, 1931), 35, 42, 124, 134.

<sup>105</sup> BL Add. MS 37656, fos 2r-2v (Appendix 3#); TNA E101/367/4, m.3.

<sup>106</sup> It has also pointed out that taxes were granted at the beginning of the reign which would have eased the burden of this debt: Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, 74.

<sup>107</sup> TNA SC8/60/2973. r.



further evidence of her courtly skills.<sup>108</sup> Its importance in relation to this study lies in Margaret's strong implication that Edward II was not doing enough to further the prospects of his half-brothers. Unfortunately the petition lacks any date: the endorsement ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to search for lands worth 2,000 marks which could be given to Edmund, but noted that Thomas would have to make do for the time being, and therefore the petition may have been presented not long before Edward II granted the earldom of Norfolk to Thomas in 1312.<sup>109</sup>

It is important to make the point here that the most constant figure in Thomas of Brotherton's early life was not his mother, father, or half-brother, but his younger sibling, Edmund of Woodstock, since this is an issue which will be returned to later. Unfortunately there is very little in the household records to illuminate the nature of their relationship at this time – it is, in fact, almost impossible to assign them any individuality. The documents were largely concerned with recording the cost of items bought for the use of both of the princes, and they are usually referred to as a pair – '*Thomas et Edmund, domini filii Regis*' – rather than as individuals with separate needs.<sup>110</sup> What is clear is that there was only a year between them in age, and there is no evidence that they spent any time apart between 1301 and 1312. The implications of their proximity, in terms of both age and upbringing, will be discussed further in the following chapter.<sup>111</sup>

Turning from Thomas's early relationships to his upbringing, the records of the household contain a great deal of information about nature of his lifestyle at this time. Regrettably, however, they do not include any indication as to whether Thomas was taught to read or write. The only books recorded as having been bought in the

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<sup>108</sup> J. C. Parsons, 'The Intercessionary Patronage of Queens Margaret and Isabella of France', in Prestwich et al. (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VI*, 145-56.

<sup>109</sup> TNA SC8/60/2973, d.

<sup>110</sup> The brothers are only rarely referred to individually, and this most commonly occurs when foods or medicines were specifically bought for Edmund, who was a sickly child. See, for instance, BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 2v (Appendix 3#).

<sup>111</sup> See below, #.



household accounts are a bible and a missal, which were purchased for the chapel.<sup>112</sup> Neither is there any specific reference to a *magister* – the title given to the individual appointed to oversee the tutelage of young members of the royal family. Johnstone has pointed out that ‘scribes writing the records of a household were apt either to speak merely of “the *magister*”, taking for granted that everybody concerned knew who he was, or else to give his personal name, taking for granted that they knew what post he occupied’ – we only know the name of Edward of Caernarfon’s tutor, Guy Ferre, because of a chance reference recording that he paid compensation for a silver dish that he had damaged which gives both his name and his title.<sup>113</sup> The clerks who compiled the records of Thomas of Brotherton’s household, however, were unusually thorough in recording both the names and titles of the most important household officials, and therefore the absence of a *magister* is perplexing. To take some comparisons, the tutor of the Black Prince – Walter Burley – was one of the most highly respected scholars in fourteenth-century England.<sup>114</sup> The tutor of Philip IV of France may have been the great Augustinian scholar, Egidius Romanus, and even Edward II’s illegitimate son had a *magister*.<sup>115</sup> It seems improbable that no tutor was ever employed to oversee Thomas’s development, and the most likely explanation may be that a permanent *magister* was not appointed until after 1312.

The role of the royal tutor at this time was not in any case primarily to impart scholarly knowledge. His most important responsibility was to help his ward to achieve knightly skills and courtly attainments – things such as hunting, riding, military training, religious devotion, music, and perhaps even dancing. Thomas would certainly have been taught to ride at a very early age and he was allocated his own palfreyman,

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<sup>112</sup> These books were relatively expensive and were probably elaborately decorated. The missal, for instance, cost 60s. 10d. in March 1311: BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 6r.; TNA E101/360/29, m. 1 (roll of miscellaneous expenses, 1300-1302).

<sup>113</sup> Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 14-15.

<sup>114</sup> Emerson, *Black Prince*, 13; R. Barber, *Edward Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince* (London, 1978), 20.

<sup>115</sup> Strayer, *Reign of Philip the Fair*, 7; F. D. Blackley, ‘Adam, Bastard Son of Edward II’, *BIHR*, 37 (1964), 76-7.



William Boreward, as early as 1301.<sup>116</sup> By the summer of 1312 he was riding a dapple-grey palfrey which cost 60s., and he was also bought a new saddle and bridle at this time.<sup>117</sup> There is no evidence that Thomas was receiving any military training prior to 1312, and neither is there any direct reference in the documents to hunting (although a greyhound-keeper was appointed in 1310).<sup>118</sup> According to Shahar's research into childhood during the medieval period, young noblemen did not begin serious military training before the age of twelve, while other strenuous pursuits such as wrestling and hunting might be put off until the age of fourteen.<sup>119</sup> The evidence from Thomas's upbringing would seem to corroborate this.

With regard to musical accomplishments, references to the repair of a drum in July 1305 and November 1306 suggest that Thomas was being taught to play this instrument.<sup>120</sup> He also played chess and 'tables', as did his parents, Edward I and Queen Margaret, who both owned expensive sets.<sup>121</sup> Orme has suggested that chess was not merely a recreational pastime, but that it also had an educational value because of the logic needed to play successfully and because 'its pieces were seen as emblematic of society: king, queen, knights, judges, rooks...and common folk, each having its own function and all being effective when working together'.<sup>122</sup> Thomas's elder half-brothers also had a variety of toys, often of a military nature. Prince Henry, for example, had a toy cart in 1273-74. Alphonso had both a toy siege engine and a painted boat, and timber was purchased in 1279 in order to make him a miniature castle. Edward of Caernarfon likewise had a painted timber toy castle.<sup>123</sup> Although none of the four

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<sup>116</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>117</sup> Edmund was bought a bay palfrey at the same date: TNA E101/374/19, fos 6r-6v.

<sup>118</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>119</sup> Shahar, *Childhood*, 209-12.

<sup>120</sup> TNA E101/368/12, fo. 3; BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r (Appendix 3#).

<sup>121</sup> Queen Margaret's two chess sets were worth £40 each: Prestwich, *Edward I*, 114-5. By contrast the set bought for Thomas and Edmund in June 1312 cost only 4s: TNA E101/374/19, fo. 5v. That the boys also played 'tables' (probably a version of backgammon) is evidenced by the fact that Edmund lost 2s. playing this game with one of his esquires in May 1311: BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 6r.

<sup>122</sup> Orme, *Medieval Children*, 178.

<sup>123</sup> Orme, *Medieval Children*, 174.



surviving wardrobe books of Thomas's household record the purchase of such items, it is highly probable that he too possessed similar toys.

Thomas's religious education would have been supervised by William Lorri, the chaplain and almoner of his household.<sup>124</sup> The importance that religion was to play in his upbringing can be inferred from the variety of liturgical items delivered for use in the chapel as soon as his household was created in January 1301.<sup>125</sup> The wardrobe books show that Thomas attended high masses from a very young age and usually made an offering of a few shillings on such occasions.<sup>126</sup> Charitable gifts might also be given to the poor, either by Thomas or on his behalf. In October 1311, for instance, 3s. 4d. was given in alms to paupers during the household's journey from London to Reading, and in total £10 12s. 2d. was given in alms and oblations by the *elemosina* between 30 September 1311 and 29 September 1312.<sup>127</sup>

There is no evidence to suggest that Thomas had a preference for any one particular saint during his childhood – not even his namesake – although the images of three female saints, Mary, Catherine and Margaret, were bought for his chapel at Hamstead Marshall in Berkshire in December 1311.<sup>128</sup> As for religious orders, it is notable that there are very few references to the Dominicans in the surviving household records, whereas quite regular payments were made to the Friars Minor for performing religious services for Thomas and his brother. Two individuals in particular stand out in the documents – Robert Mugginton and John of Dunstable, Friars Minor of Reading – who frequently stayed within the household for short periods.<sup>129</sup> From 1310 onwards a clerk of the Friars Minor named John Kettleston seems to have been permanently

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<sup>124</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>125</sup> TNA E101/360/15. This document is also transcribed in Vale, *Princely Court*, 357.

<sup>126</sup> For example he attended four masses at Windsor during the month of December in 1303, one of which took place on Christmas Day: TNA E101 366/15, m. 1 (roll of expenses, 1303-1304).

<sup>127</sup> TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r.

<sup>128</sup> TNA E101/374/19, fo. 4r.

<sup>129</sup> BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 4r; TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r.



resident in the household.<sup>130</sup> Given that Edward I seems to have favoured no particular order of friars, and that Edward II gave his patronage to the Dominicans, it would seem a likely assumption that Thomas's preferment for the Friars Minor was influenced by his mother – indeed her confessor is named as a Franciscan in one of Edward I's wardrobe books.<sup>131</sup>

Vale has recently examined the significance of ceremony and ritual within medieval courtly culture,<sup>132</sup> and certain religious ceremonies stand out as having been assigned particular importance within Thomas's household. At Easter, for example, Thomas and his brother washed the feet of the poor, and clothing, shoes and money were distributed to twenty-six paupers on their behalf.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, on the Feast of St Nicholas (6 December) a young boy would be appointed to act as a bishop and would sing a canticle to the two princes in their chapel, in return for which he was given alms.<sup>134</sup> The significance attached to this particular ritual within the household may have derived from St Nicholas's association with children. Both of these ceremonies were also practiced in other princely courts in north-western Europe, including those Robert of Artois and the count of Hainault, providing evidence of a common courtly culture in this geographical region.<sup>135</sup>

Other feast days were also celebrated within the household, and these occasions might coincide with visits paid by various members of the nobility to Thomas and his brother. Hospitality was an important part of aristocratic culture at this time, especially given the frequent journeying of the nobility, and Thomas would have received an early introduction to this custom. The most frequent visitor to the household was undoubtedly Thomas's half-sister, Mary, who was a nun at Amesbury and who called upon them a

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<sup>130</sup> See Appendix 2.

<sup>131</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 32r. For the preferences of Edward I and Edward II regarding religious orders, see: Johnstone, *Edward of Carnarvon*, 10; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 112.

<sup>132</sup> Vale, *Courtly Culture*, 200-246.

<sup>133</sup> TNA E101/363/14, m. 1; BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 4r; TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r.

<sup>134</sup> TNA E101/366/15, m. 1r; TNA E101/368/12, fo. 2r; TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r.

<sup>135</sup> Vale, *Princely Court*, 237-8, 244-6.



total of eleven times between 27 June and 4 October 1305, sometimes staying for periods of up to five days.<sup>136</sup> Other noble guests included the earl of Richmond, Peter of Savoy, the countess Marshal and the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, whilst the list of lesser members of the nobility and clergy is much more extensive.<sup>137</sup> A number of minstrels were employed within the household who would have provided entertainment at such times, and these men are recorded as playing a diversity of instruments including the drum, trumpet, violar and cyther.<sup>138</sup>

It is clear that Thomas was by no means removed from noble society and its gatherings. Apart from receiving visitors to the household, he might also travel to attend a particular event. On one occasion in April 1312 he and Edmund travelled to Cardiff to attend the baptism of John Clare, the son of Earl Gilbert of Gloucester, who seems to have died shortly thereafter.<sup>139</sup> It has also been noted above that he might spend lengthy periods at the royal court. During the first few years of his life, Thomas seems largely to have been resident at Windsor and so within easy distance of Westminster and other royal manors in the vicinity of London where the king's court might be staying.<sup>140</sup> Subsequently, though, the household began to travel much greater distances. An itinerant lifestyle was a necessity of all noble households during the Middle Ages because of the need to administrate widespread estates, and because of the burdens placed on the surrounding neighbourhood by the purveyance of food and other essentials. By the spring of 1305 both Thomas and his brother would have begun to ride and would have reached a more practical age for travelling around the south-east and south-west of England, and at about this time the household adopted the custom of spending the majority of the summer and winter months in one place. Between 1305 and 1310 the *hospicium* often stayed for several months at a time at Windsor, or at

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<sup>136</sup> TNA E101/367/4, m. 2-3.

<sup>137</sup> TNA E101/367/4, m. 2-3; TNA E101/374/19, fo. 8r.

<sup>138</sup> TNA E101/363/14, m. 1-2; TNA E101/374/19, fos 8r-8v.

<sup>139</sup> TNA E101/374/19, fo. 5r.

<sup>140</sup> TNA E101/363/14; TNA E101/366/15.



Ludgershall and Amesbury in Wiltshire. After Edward II's grant of some of Roger Bigod's manors to Thomas and Edmund in 1310, Chepstow in Monmouthshire and Framlingham in Suffolk became preferred destinations. The rest of the year was spent travelling to and from these locations, staying at various royal manors en route. While he rarely lodged in the capital itself, Thomas often spent a few nights in places such as Fulham, Isleworth or Staines, again within easy distance of Westminster and the royal family.<sup>141</sup> Thanks to the survival of some of the household rolls, which noted the location of the court in the margin, it is possible to give quite a full itinerary for Thomas during his childhood, especially for the years 1305, 1311 and 1312 (see Appendix 1). This itinerary shows just how extensive the perambulations of the household were, and it would seem that after 1305 Thomas's young age was not allowed to hinder his introduction to this aspect of aristocratic culture and lifestyle.

Thomas's status and lifestyle would have been immediately apparent to anyone meeting him from the manner of his dress. This was extremely diverse, with a variety of types and colours of cloth cut in different styles by his tailor, Stephen. He possessed mantles and tabards (sleeveless tunics) of both russet and mixed colours, and woollen cloaks and tunics lined with a diversity of furs including squirrel and rabbit. To keep him warm in winter he had gloves and hats of beaver skin, whilst shoes, boots and galoches provided appropriate footwear whatever the weather.<sup>142</sup> Vale has pointed out that clothing served to reinforce the social hierarchy within the household. The two princes were the most sumptuously dressed individuals within the household, although the household knights and Master John Claxton also received a variety of cloths for liveries several times a year, and their robes were lined with fur or silk. The liveries issued to the squires were identical to those given to the knights, except that they were lined with material of lesser quality such as lambswool. The robes of the valets were

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<sup>141</sup> See Appendix 1.

<sup>142</sup> TNA E101/374/19, fos 3v-5r; BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 8v; BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 2v (Appendix 3#).



also lined with lambswool, but they received liveries fewer times a year than the knights and squires. In this way ‘the visible difference between the quality of cloth and furs issued to the princes – and their higher-ranking officers – and those provided for the *familia* or *maisnie* (that is, the service household) made a clear social and hierarchical point’.<sup>143</sup>

Every bit as varied and luxurious as Thomas’s clothing was his diet. The provision of meat, fish, vegetables and wine were a staple part of this diet: in October 1305 Edward I ordered the constable of Walingford Castle to provide sufficient wine and fish for the pending arrival of Thomas and Edmund, while the wardrobe book for the same year notes that a ferret was bought for their gamekeeper with which to catch rabbits.<sup>144</sup> More exotic foodstuffs were also bought on quite a regular basis such as rice, cloves, saffron, almonds, ginger, cinnamon, pepper, figs, dates and raisins.<sup>145</sup> In this aspect of his lifestyle, Thomas would have had a great advantage over his less wealthy contemporaries whose diet would have been much more meagre, and on the whole Thomas seems to have enjoyed good health, with the exception (if Rishanger’s story is to be believed) of the months immediately following his birth. This was in marked contrast to his brother Edmund, who is described as *infirmatus* in 1303, 1305 and 1311, and also his younger sister Eleanor, who died in 1311.<sup>146</sup> On the rare occasions when Thomas was ill, he would have no doubt benefited from the kinds of provisions made for Edmund. These included boiled cow’s milk, fresh fruit, twisted sticks of sugar, and the dubious expertise of a physician named Ralph, who set fire to a house in Devizes in 1301 whilst preparing his remedies.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Vale, *Princely Court*, 105-8.

<sup>144</sup> CCR, 1302-1307, 291; BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 2v (Appendix 3#).

<sup>145</sup> TNA E101/368/12, fo. 7r; TNA E101/374/10, fo. 1 (miscellaneous wardrobe accounts, 1310-11); TNA E101/374/19, fo. 14r.

<sup>146</sup> TNA E101/363/14, m. 2; BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r (Appendix 3#); BL Add. MS 32050, fos 4r, 7v;

<sup>147</sup> TNA E101/363/14, m. 1-2; BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 2v (Appendix 3#); TNA E101/368/12, fo. 1r; TNA E101/360/28 (roll of household expenses, 1301-1303); Vale, *Princely Court*, 142-3.



Edward II's grant of the earldom of Norfolk to Thomas of Brotherton in December 1312 signified his entry into politics, but this event should not be taken to suggest that Thomas was now perceived to be a mature adult, or that his lifestyle would have altered greatly – in fact the contrary will be argued in the following chapter. The grant did provide him with his own revenue, and therefore his household officials no longer needed to account to the king's wardrobe. Consequently, the records of his household cease to survive amongst the other government records and there is little information about the remainder of his upbringing. In many ways, Thomas appears to have led a very adult lifestyle before 1312 – he was largely surrounded by adults during these early years, and the size of his revenue and the number of officials and servants looking after him equalled the establishments of many contemporary earls and magnates. He was already travelling widely, entertaining members of the nobility, and participating in court ceremonial. This does not mean, however, that the idea of childhood did not exist in the medieval period or that Thomas was regarded as a small and inadequate adult, as Ariès believed. This is partly an illusion created by the nature of the household records, whose sole purpose was to record items of expenditure and not to detail his development. It is also a result of the fact that his household was intended to proclaim his prestige, and that his upbringing was intended to introduce him to the most important facets of aristocratic culture – things such as piety, hospitality, the perambulation of estates, and an idea of his place within the social hierarchy. An awareness within aristocratic society of the differing needs of children at various stages of their development is suggested by the fact that Thomas did not travel extensively before 1305, that his *magistra* and wetnurse were retained within the household until at least 1306, and that he does not seem to have begun serious military training until after 1312.



It is also clear from this analysis of Thomas's childhood that parents in the Middle Ages could and did feel affection for their children, despite high rates of infant mortality. Evidence has been cited above which demonstrates that both Edward I and Queen Margaret were concerned for his well-being. Even though Edward I's four eldest sons had died in childhood, he was more than willing to expend a large amount on providing Thomas with a household which would compare favourably to other similar establishments both in England and in north-western Europe, and which would give him an upbringing and lifestyle appropriate to his status. Edward II's neglect of Thomas's interests between 1307 and 1312 has also in some ways been exaggerated, and yet it is clear that Margaret felt the need to intervene on behalf of her sons – perhaps because of the lack of preferment shown to her own family by her half-brother, Philip IV of France. Thomas was by no means deprived of money or prestige after the death of his father, but neither did Edward II demonstrate any great generosity towards him, or any fervour to do everything in his power to promote his half-brother's prospects unless prompted to do so. This was a foretaste of the treatment Thomas was to receive for much of the rest of Edward II's reign.



## CHAPTER TWO

### ‘Why hast thou of all unkind, borne arms against thy brother and thy King?’<sup>1</sup> Norfolk’s Political Role, 1312-1326

On 16 December 1312 at Westminster, Thomas of Brotherton was created earl of Norfolk.<sup>2</sup> This event signified his entry into the political sphere, his right to attend parliament and to advise the king. This chapter will examine Norfolk’s political role during the reign of Edward II, his career having so far attracted little attention. It intends to dispel certain misconceptions as to Norfolk’s role during this period, in particular his political allegiance during and after the civil war of 1321-22 and his reasons for taking up arms against his half-brother the king in 1326. By doing so it hopes to shed new light on the reign of Edward II – one of the most unsuccessful monarchs in British history, who was described by contemporaries as ‘chicken-hearted and luckless in war’, and by historians as a king who ‘lived a life devoid of noble purpose or of laudable ambition’.<sup>3</sup> What can Norfolk’s experiences under Edward II tell us about the king’s relationship with his nobility, his style of kingship and use of patronage, and the reasons for the failure of his reign?

As outlined in the previous chapter, Edward I had intended that his second son should receive the earldom of Norfolk together with other lands and rents worth an additional 4,000 marks per annum by 1 August 1308, but had died before he could carry out this act himself, and Edward II had showed no immediate inclination to fulfil his father’s wishes.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, at only twelve years of age when he received his

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Marlowe, *Edward the Second*, ed. M. Wiggins and R. Lindsey (London, 1997), 88.

<sup>2</sup> TNA C53/99, m. 14, calendared in *CChR, 1300-1326*, 205-6.

<sup>3</sup> Edward II ‘*semper fuerat cordis pavidi et infortunatus in bellis*’: *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI-MCCCXLVI E Codice Cottoniano Nunc Primum Typis Mandatum*, ed. W. MacDowell (Edinburgh, 1839), 247-8; *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346*, ed. H. Maxwell (Glasgow, 1913), 240; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 96.

<sup>4</sup> See above, 45-50.



earldom, Norfolk was relatively young in comparison with other roughly contemporary members of the royal family. Edward I was a little older at fifteen years of age when Henry III created him earl of Chester and granted him extensive lands in England, Ireland, Wales and Gascony on 14 February 1254.<sup>5</sup> Although Edward I's younger brother Edmund was invested with the crown of Sicily when he was only ten years old, ambitions towards this kingdom eventually had to be abandoned, and subsequently Edmund had to wait until he was twenty to receive the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester and Derby after the battle of Evesham.<sup>6</sup> The future Edward II was sixteen when he was given lands in Wales and the earldom of Chester by his father in February 1301,<sup>7</sup> and Norfolk's younger brother, Edmund of Woodstock, was nineteen when he was finally granted his own earldom by Edward II in June 1321.<sup>8</sup> The future Edward III was unusual in receiving the earldom of Chester almost immediately after his birth, but his younger brother John of Eltham was, like Norfolk, twelve years old when he was given the earldom of Cornwall in 1328.<sup>9</sup>

So why did Edward II choose precisely this moment to promote his half-brother into the ranks of the titled nobility? The answer no doubt largely lies in the political conflict and baronial opposition which had been a feature of the first five years of Edward II's reign, and which by June 1312 had culminated in the murder of Piers Gaveston and near civil war, leaving the king in dire need of support. The reign had begun amidst a mood of optimism and good will, even though Edward II's initial acts had been to bestow the earldom of Cornwall on his favourite and to withdraw his army from Scotland. The earls of Lincoln, Lancaster, Arundel, Hereford and Warenne, together with Aymer Valence (soon to be earl of Pembroke), all witnessed the charter

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<sup>5</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> W. E. Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster', *EHR*, 10 (1895), 19-34; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 1-2.

<sup>7</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 226.

<sup>8</sup> *CFR*, 1319-1327, 68.

<sup>9</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 837-8; xxx. 173-4.



whereby Gaveston was created earl of Cornwall on 6 August 1307, despite the fact that this earldom had traditionally been held by members of the royal family.<sup>10</sup> As Maddicott has pointed out, Roger Bigod IV and Humphrey Bohun VI – the earls of Norfolk and Hereford, who had headed the opposition against Edward I during the late thirteenth century – were both dead by 1307, and most of the remaining earls were young men, many of whom were in some way related to Edward II.<sup>11</sup> By early 1308, however, the first signs of discontent had begun to appear. Whilst in France attending the marriage of Edward II to Isabella of France, the bishop of Durham and the earls of Lincoln, Warenne, Pembroke and Hereford put their names to the Boulogne Agreement, whereby they swore their fealty to the king but also pledged to do all in their power to safeguard the honour of the Crown and to redress the oppressions of the people.<sup>12</sup> Matters were not helped by Gaveston's prominence at Edward II's coronation at Westminster on 25 February, and the resulting tension led the king to order that all his castles were to be munitioned and repaired. Civil war was only averted when Edward II agreed to the excommunication and exile of Gaveston at the parliament held in April.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout the remainder of 1308 and early 1309 Edward II worked towards winning back the support of his magnates, and was able to pave the way for Gaveston's return in June 1309.<sup>14</sup> The reappearance of the king's favourite inevitably caused old animosities to arise once more, and in early 1310 Edward II was forced to agree to the appointment of a council of ordainers to advise him. The New Ordinances of 1311 demanded, amongst many other clauses, that 'Piers Gaveston as the evident enemy of the king and of his people be completely exiled as well from the kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales as from the whole lordship of our lord the king overseas as

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<sup>10</sup> Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 26-7; Haines, *King Edward II*, 66.

<sup>11</sup> Lancaster, Richmond and Pembroke were all first or second cousins of Edward II, Gloucester was his nephew, and Warenne had recently married his niece. Humphrey Bohun VII, who had succeeded his father of the same name to the earldom of Hereford, was his brother-in-law: Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 67-72; Prestwich, *Three Edwards*, 74.

<sup>12</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 72-3.

<sup>13</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 8-13; Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 44.

<sup>14</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 12-15; Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 52; Haines, *King Edward II*, 70-2.



well as on this side, forever and without returning'.<sup>15</sup> Yet again this exile did not last for long and Gaveston had arrived back in England by January 1312, when the king issued a statement arguing that he had been exiled in a manner that was contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom.<sup>16</sup> The contravention of the Ordinances was a step too far for the earls, and Pembroke and Warenne immediately set out to besiege Gaveston at Scarborough, where he was forced to surrender on 19 May upon the assurance of Pembroke and Warenne that they would safeguard him whilst he was in their custody. On the way to Wallingford, however, he was seized by the earl of Warwick and taken to Warwick Castle where the earls of Lancaster, Hereford and Arundel soon arrived, and then executed on Lancaster's nearby lands at Blacklow Hill on 19 June.<sup>17</sup>

This was the political situation immediately prior to Brotherton's creation as earl of Norfolk. Pembroke had immediately rejoined the king's party out of disgust that his oath to ensure Gaveston's safety had been unwittingly broken, but Edward II was distressed and angered at the murder of his favourite and he declined to issue pardons to the other earls who had committed the offence. Fearing reprisal, these magnates arrived at the Westminster parliament in September with large, heavily armed retinues, and the dispute still remained to be settled by 16 December.<sup>18</sup> Edward II was clearly in need of loyal supporters, and it is surely no coincidence that it was at precisely this moment that the king decided to promote his half-brother. Brotherton might have been too young to play a particularly active role in settling the dispute or preventing it from turning into open conflict, but he could be relied upon to stand firmly behind Edward II at this stage, and to visibly support him against opposition.

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<sup>15</sup> 'New Ordinances, 1311', in *English Historical Documents*, ed. D. C. Douglas et al., 12 vols. (London, 1953-81), iii. 527-39; M. Prestwich, 'A New Version of the Ordinances of 1311', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 57 (1984), 190.

<sup>16</sup> Haines, *Edward II*, 82-6.

<sup>17</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 40-9; *The Anonimale Chronicle 1307 to 1334: From Brotherton Collection MS 29*, ed. W. R. Childs and J. Taylor (Leeds, 1991), 86-7.

<sup>18</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 52-63.



A further factor that may have influenced Edward II's creation of Thomas of Brotherton as earl of Norfolk at this time was the arrival of Count Louis of Evreux in England. Evreux was Brotherton's uncle, and arrived in London on 13 September 1312 in order to help mediate a settlement between the king and his magnates.<sup>19</sup> He would have been keen to see the promotion of his sister's eldest son, and Edward II would have been keen to win his support. In addition, Edward II might have intended the grant to be something of a conciliatory measure towards his nobles while a settlement was being negotiated. Although in 1311 the ordainers had been keen to curb the excessive bestowal of royal patronage, which they argued was impoverishing the Crown, it is unlikely that any of the magnates would have objected to the bestowal of the earldom of Norfolk upon Brotherton.<sup>20</sup> In fact it is more probable that by fulfilling the wishes of Edward I, furthering the interests of his half-brother, and granting patronage where it was expected, the king would have met with widespread support in this act. As Given-Wilson has noted, the magnates recognized that Brotherton was simply taking his natural place to which he had been born, 'among the great men of the kingdom'.<sup>21</sup> The grant is unlikely to have caused Edward II any significant financial loss, since he had already granted the joint custody of many of Roger Bigod IV's English estates to his younger siblings in 1310, and sole seisin of the lordship of Chepstow to Brotherton in 1311.<sup>22</sup> The bestowal of the earldom in December 1312, therefore, only necessitated the additional grant of some of Bigod's manors in Norfolk and his lordship of Carlow in Ireland, much of which was in any case still in the hands of Bigod's wife, Alice, in dower.<sup>23</sup> No mention was made of the additional lands and rents worth 4,000 marks per annum that Edward I had intended should also be given to Brotherton.

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<sup>19</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 272; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 56-7. See Figure 1.

<sup>20</sup> 'New Ordinances', 527-8.

<sup>21</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 31.

<sup>22</sup> See above, 41-2.

<sup>23</sup> For the lands held in dower by Alice Bigod, countess of Norfolk, see: *CCR*, 1303-1307, 508-9; *CFR*, 1272-1307, 551-2; and below, 171.



One further factor which must not be overlooked when examining why Edward II promoted his half-brother to the status of earl on 16 December 1312 is that the king's first son, the future Edward III, had been born on 13 November 1312 at Windsor.<sup>24</sup> The close proximity in timing between the birth of Edward II's heir and Brotherton's creation as earl of Norfolk strongly suggests that, with the succession to the throne seemingly secure, the king felt much more able to further the interests of his younger half-brother, who was now demoted to second in line to the throne. The author of the *Vita* certainly noted the importance of the birth of Edward II's first son, writing that 'if the king had died without issue, the Crown would certainly have remained in dispute'.<sup>25</sup>

It is unlikely that Norfolk (as he will be referred to henceforth), at only twelve years of age, was expected to play an active political role immediately subsequent to his creation as earl. He received regular summonses to attend parliament from December 1312 onwards, but witnessed no charters over the next three years and this suggests that he was not much at court.<sup>26</sup> On 23 December 1313 he received a summons to attend a military muster and was ordered to be prepared to serve in person against the Scots, but it is unlikely that he actually took part in the expedition that resulted in the defeat of the English at Bannockburn in June 1314. He had been acquitted of the service owed to the king in respect of his knights' fees by March 1314, and none of the chroniclers noted his presence at the battle.<sup>27</sup> In January 1315 Norfolk was one of only two earls (the other being Pembroke) to attend the lavish funeral of Gaveston at Langley, but this is one of the few clues as to his activities during this period.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> *Anonimalle*, 86-7; *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 837-8.

<sup>25</sup> '*si rex decessisset sine prole, pro certo mansisset corona sub lite*': *Vita*, ed. Childs, 62-3.

<sup>26</sup> He received his first summons on 8 January 1313 to attend parliament at Westminster on 18 March of that year. Subsequent summonses followed on 23 May 1313, 26 November 1313 (he was later discharged from attending this parliament), 24 October 1314 and 16 October 1315: *CCR, 1307-1313*, 564, 583-4; *CCR, 1313-1318*, 85; *Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons*, ed. F. Palgrave, 2 vols. (London, 1827-34), ii.(i), 80, 95, 101, 121, 126, 127, 137, 153.

<sup>27</sup> *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 421; *CCR, 1313-1318*, 43-4; *Foedera*, ii.(i), 245. The chroniclers particularly lamented the death of the earl of Gloucester at Bannockburn: *Vita*, ed. Childs, 88-99; *Anonimalle*, 88-9.

<sup>28</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 94.



Norfolk's earldom was a recognition of his status, and it gave him control over his own finances, household and officials. For several years, though, it is probable that his lifestyle continued in much the same manner as it had prior to 1312. That Edward Balliol continued to reside with him in his household, as he had done since 1310, is evidenced by a number of entries in the king's wardrobe books. Master John Claxton (who was still acting as the keeper of Norfolk's wardrobe) received payments in compensation for Edward Balliol's expenses whilst staying in the *hospicium* between 8 November 1312 and 7 July 1313, and 1 December 1314 to 31 January 1316.<sup>29</sup> It is likely that Edmund of Woodstock also continued to stay in the household until at least October 1315, at which time he was granted various manors worth just over £320 per annum by Edward II, in aid of his sustenance.<sup>30</sup> Between late 1312 and early 1316, Norfolk probably continued to perambulate his estates much as he had during his earlier childhood, and with the same companions and officials.

By the beginning of 1316 Norfolk seems to have been considered a suitable age to play a more active part in the governance of the realm. This is suggested by the fact that on 10 February 1316 at the parliament of Lincoln, Edward II granted to Norfolk the office of marshal of England.<sup>31</sup> The marshalship was one of four prestigious hereditary offices, the others being the stewardship, constableness and chamberlainship, which were held by the earls of Lancaster, Hereford and Warwick respectively during the early fourteenth century. The marshalship had been in the hands of Roger Bigod IV, earl of Norfolk, until his death in 1306, at which time it had reverted to the Crown. Edward II had granted the office during pleasure to Robert Clifford on 3 September 1307, and to Nicholas Segrave on 12 March 1308, but due to baronial opposition to these

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<sup>29</sup> Edward Balliol was allowed 10s. per day for personal expenses, two squires, two yeomen, five serving boys, seven horses and four greyhounds: TNA E101/375/8, fos 5r, 11v; TNA E101/376/7, fo. 14r; *CDS*, v. 237.

<sup>30</sup> *CPR*, 1313-1317, 360.

<sup>31</sup> TNA C53/102, m. 7, calendared in *CChR*, 1300-1326, 304.



appointments neither actively held it for long.<sup>32</sup> The four great hereditary offices are usually viewed as having become largely honorary and ceremonial long before the early fourteenth century,<sup>33</sup> but Davies noted that ‘the marshal of England was not a mere figure-head but an official with definite functions and a place in the administration’.<sup>34</sup> The marshal had various military duties (such as the right to lead the vanguard of the army) and was responsible for appointing diverse officials to the department of the marshalsea (including a deputy who acted as marshal of the king’s household), and it was probably because of these practical functions that Edward II did not grant the office to Norfolk at a younger age.<sup>35</sup>

It should not escape notice that the grant of the marshalship of England – like the grant of the earldom of Norfolk – was made at a time when Edward II was under political pressure. Lancaster had been able to use Edward II’s defeat at the battle of Bannockburn to wrest control of government and to implement the Ordinances. At the York parliament of September 1314, which followed the ill-fated Scottish campaign, Lancaster (who had refused to take part in the expedition himself) and the other earls ‘said that the Ordinances had not been observed, and for that reason events had turned out worse for the king’.<sup>36</sup> Edward II was forced to promise that he would observe the Ordinances, and two purges of his household followed in 1314 and 1315 to reduce his expenditure. On 5 March 1315 the resumption of all gifts made by the king contrary to the Ordinances since March 1310 was also ordered.<sup>37</sup> In February 1316 Lancaster reached the height of his power – seven days after the marshalship was granted to Norfolk, Edward II appointed Lancaster as his chief adviser, an event which Davies

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<sup>32</sup> *CPR, 1307-1313*, 6, 51.

<sup>33</sup> D. Crouch, *William Marshal: Court, Career and Chivalry in the Angevin Empire 1147-1219* (London, 1990), 205-8; S. Painter, *William Marshal: Knight-Errant, Baron and Regent of England* (Baltimore, 1933), 102-4.

<sup>34</sup> Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, 207-8.

<sup>35</sup> For further discussion of the marshalship of England at this time and the rights and duties associated with the office, see Appendix 4 and below, 90, 127-8, 163-4, 174-7.

<sup>36</sup> ‘*Dixerunt comites ordinaciones obseruatas non esse, et iccirco regi deterius accidisse*’: *Vita*, ed. Childs, 98-9.

<sup>37</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 160-80.



described as greatly significant since it effectively meant that ‘no matter touching the king or the kingdom was to be undertaken without the assent of the earl...The king was to have no independence of action’.<sup>38</sup> Lancaster in fact arrived late to the Lincoln parliament where he was given this appointment – the king had ordered his prelates and barons to be present by 27 January, but Lancaster did not arrive until about two weeks later, and this may explain why he was not one of the witnesses to the charter whereby Norfolk was created marshal of England on 10 February.<sup>39</sup>

It should be noted that it was in September 1316 that Norfolk received his first direct communication from the papacy in the form of a letter announcing the election of Pope John XXII to the see of Rome at Lyons – an indication that he was increasingly regarded as an influential and important figure within England.<sup>40</sup> The following year, in February 1317, Norfolk was present at the assembly held at Clarendon to discuss the Scottish threat. It was here that he witnessed his first royal charter, which suggests that he was now beginning to play a greater role at court.<sup>41</sup> Lancaster was not present at this meeting, but seems later to have believed that the abduction of his wife (which was carried out by the earl of Warenne on 11 April, apparently with her consent) was plotted there with the king’s approval, and the abduction of Alice of Lancaster contributed to the steadily worsening relationship between Edward II and the earl.<sup>42</sup> Both McKisack and Bingham have suggested that towards the end of 1317 and throughout 1318 Norfolk

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<sup>38</sup> Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, 408-414.

<sup>39</sup> For the grant of the marshalship to Norfolk and those who acted as witnesses, see TNA C53/102, m. 7. Regarding the date of Lancaster’s arrival at Lincoln, Johnstone suggested that he did not arrive until 12 February. Richardson and Sayles have published a document which suggests he was present on 10 February, but if the latter is true, he presumably did not arrive until late in the day after the grant had been made to Norfolk: H. Johnstone, ‘The Parliament of Lincoln, 1316’, *EHR*, 36 (1921), 54; H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, ‘The Parliament of Lincoln, 1316’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 12 (1934), 105.

<sup>40</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters, 1305-1342* (London, 1895), 126.

<sup>41</sup> *RCWL*, 114.

<sup>42</sup> ‘Gesta Edwardi de Carnarvon Auctore Canonico Bridlingtoniensi’, in *Chronicles*, ed. Stubbs, ii. 54; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 190-1.



was an adherent of the 'middle party'.<sup>43</sup> The existence of this faction was first suggested by Stubbs, who argued that whilst on an embassy to the pope between December 1316 and June 1317, 'Pembroke, as in position of the rival of Lancaster, Badlesmere as a bitter enemy of the earl, and D'Amory as an aspirant to the Gloucester honours, seem to have conceived the idea of forming a middle party between Lancaster as the head of the old baronial faction, and the king sustained by the Despensers and the personal adherents of the royal house'.<sup>44</sup> This concept of the 'middle party' proposed by Stubbs as a distinct political grouping whose aim was to wrest power from Lancaster whilst maintaining control over the king, was accepted by historians for many decades.<sup>45</sup> However, in the 1970s the entire theory of the 'middle party' became subject to revision with the publication of Maddicott's biography of Thomas of Lancaster and Phillips' study of the earl of Pembroke. Maddicott argued that the members of the 'middle party' were far more loyal to Edward II than had previously been assumed and than the name of the faction suggested.<sup>46</sup> Phillips questioned its very existence, and suggested that far from being a distinct political group at this time, the individuals associated with the 'middle party' were entirely royalist in outlook.<sup>47</sup>

There is certainly no evidence to suggest that Norfolk should be associated with a 'middle party' as espoused by Stubbs. In 1317 and 1318 he had no reason to be anything other than entirely loyal to the king. According to his birthright as the son of Edward I, he had been promoted to the position of earl at an early age and the prestigious office of the marshalship had followed a little over three years later. Although he had not been the recipient of any major grants in the intervening years, the

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<sup>43</sup> M. McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), 52-3; Bingham, *Life and Times*, 126.

<sup>44</sup> Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, ii. 371-2.

<sup>45</sup> See, for instance: Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, 443; J. G. Edwards, 'The Negotiating of the Treaty of Leake, 1318', in H. W. C. Davies (ed.), *Essays in History Presented to R. Lane Poole* (Oxford, 1927), 360-78.

<sup>46</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 190-239.

<sup>47</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 135-51; J. R. S. Phillips, 'The "Middle Party" and Negotiating the Treaty of Leake, August 1318: A Reinterpretation', *BIHR*, 46 (1973), 11-27.



king had bestowed a number of lesser gifts on him such as the town of Curton and trading rights relating to Rospont in Ireland on 30 November 1313, and the right to hold a weekly market at Earl Soham in Suffolk on 18 March 1314 – sufficient to demonstrate that he had not forgotten his half-brother.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, he was still young and could soon expect to be given greater political responsibilities.

Even if one accepts the revised theories put forward by Maddicott and Phillips, there is no evidence to suggest that Norfolk was particularly involved with the activities of Pembroke at this time, or with the attempts of Pembroke and the bishops to mediate a settlement between the king and Lancaster. He was summoned to parliament in early 1318 and witnessed several royal charters in the first half of the year, but does not seem to have been active in the lengthy negotiations which preceded the Treaty of Leake.<sup>49</sup> Norfolk did act as a witness to the Treaty of Leake itself on 9 August 1318, whereby Lancaster agreed to settle all his grievances with the king's supporters (saving Warenne) in return for a general pardon for himself and his followers, and whereby it was agreed that twelve or more subjects should be elected to stay with the king and to advise him so that 'if anything difficult should arise in the king's court, the authority of those twelve would at once deal with it'.<sup>50</sup> He was not, however, appointed as one of the members of the council, even though it consisted almost entirely of the king's supporters, amongst whom he could be counted.<sup>51</sup>

It was not until 1319 that Norfolk became truly prominent in matters of governance and military affairs. The settlement between Edward II and Lancaster in August 1318 had enabled attention to be turned once more towards Scotland, and at the

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<sup>48</sup> *CFR*, 1307-1319, 185; *CPR*, 1313-1317, 47; *CChR*, 1300-1326, 235.

<sup>49</sup> *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 184, 173, 176, 179, 181; *RCWL*, 133-4, 139. For the individuals most involved in negotiating the Treaty of Leake, see: B. Wilkinson, 'The Negotiations Preceding the "Treaty" of Leake, August 1318', in R. W. Hunt, W. A. Pantin and R. W. Southern (eds), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke* (Oxford, 1948), 345-50; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 213-29.

<sup>50</sup> '*si aliquid arduum in curia regis emergeret, auctoritas istorum duodecim statim expediret*': Vita, ed. Childs, 152-3.

<sup>51</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 113.



beginning of 1319 Norfolk was left as keeper of the realm while the king supervised the strengthening of defences in the Anglo-Scottish border region.<sup>52</sup> This was a position commonly given in the past to members of the royal family: both Henry III and Edward I had frequently left the keeping of the country in the hands of their brothers, Richard of Cornwall and Edmund of Lancaster.<sup>53</sup> This was the first time, though, that Edward II had appointed either of his considerably younger half-brothers to this position. Instead he had tended to rely on his favourites such as Piers Gaveston, or his most able statesmen such as the earl of Pembroke, during the earlier years of the reign. By 1319 Edward II must have considered Norfolk to be mature and able enough to fulfil the role of *custos Angliae*, although Pembroke was also left behind to advise the young nobleman.

One of Norfolk's tasks while acting as keeper of the realm in 1319 was to settle a dispute that had arisen between the mayor and townsmen of London. According to the *Chroniques de London* (which was probably written by a layman towards the middle of the fourteenth century, and which demonstrates a great interest in the civic affairs of the city),<sup>54</sup> this dispute had arisen the previous year when, '*pur la colusion et conspiracie del dit meir [John Wengrave], moveit graunt descord entre le comune et luy, et le comune ordeina certainz pointz de lour nouvele chartre, qe fut mult coudre la volenté le dit Johan, meir*'.<sup>55</sup> The *Annales Paulini* also mentions this dispute and how Norfolk dealt with it. According to this chronicle, Norfolk (accompanied by Pembroke and John Sandale, bishop of Winchester and treasurer) summoned the mayor and burgesses of London to a meeting in the chapter house of St Paul's on 24 March 1319, where he heard the petitions of the townsmen against their mayor, John Wengrave, concerning the elections and authority of the mayor, sheriffs and aldermen of the city. The Pauline

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<sup>52</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 285-6; J. Sadler, *Border Fury: England and Scotland at War, 1296-1568* (Harlow, 2005), 146.

<sup>53</sup> Rhodes, 'Edmund, Earl of Lancaster', 209-237.

<sup>54</sup> Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, 14-15.

<sup>55</sup> *Chroniques de London*, ed. G. J. Aungier (London, 1844), 40.



Annalist further states that Norfolk threatened to summon those involved to appear before him again the following day at Westminster, at which point John Wengrave acquiesced to the demands of the townsmen.<sup>56</sup> With this dispute seemingly settled, Norfolk was at St Paul's once again about a month later to ask the clergy attending the Canterbury provincial council, which was being held there, to grant a subsidy to the king for the campaign against the Scots.<sup>57</sup>

No doubt with the help and advice of Pembroke, Norfolk appears to have competently carried out his duties as *custos Angliae*. On 22 May he and the other magnates received a summons to meet the king at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by 10 June (later postponed to 22 July), for a campaign against the Scots.<sup>58</sup> Although Norfolk had been the recipient of military summonses in previous years, he was excused his duty in 1314 and the campaigns of 1316 and 1317 had never been realized, and so this was almost certainly his first military campaign. Accordingly, he was knighted by the king on 15 July in York, and the author of the *Vita* also notes his presence at the muster one week later, together with the earls of Lancaster, Pembroke, Arundel, Warenne and Hereford.<sup>59</sup> The king crossed the border into Scotland on 20 August, accompanied by Norfolk and the other earls and barons, and laid siege to Berwick. However, James Douglas at the head of the Scottish army slipped past the English contingent and proceeded to York (possibly with the intention of capturing the queen), where the archbishop hastily raised a force of prelates and laymen who were resoundingly – if unsurprisingly – defeated at the ‘Chapter of Myton’.<sup>60</sup> Because of this disaster, and because of Lancaster's early withdrawal from Berwick (which was to leave him open to accusations of collusion with the Scots), the English abandoned their siege and made a

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<sup>56</sup> ‘Annales Paulini’, 285-6.

<sup>57</sup> *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, Episcoporum Londoniensium, A.D. MCCCIV-MCCCXXXVIII*, ed. R. C. Fowler (London, 1911), 207-8; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 183.

<sup>58</sup> *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 513.

<sup>59</sup> ‘Annales Paulini’, 286; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 162-3.

<sup>60</sup> *The Bruce by John Barbour*, ed. A. A. M. Duncan (Edinburgh, 1997), 640-6; ‘Annales Paulini’, 286; Sadler, *Border Fury*, 147-9.



hasty about-turn. The English army had reached Newcastle by 25 September where Norfolk witnessed a charter, and York by 8 October. On 22 December the terms of a two-year truce between Edward II and Robert Bruce were agreed at Newcastle.<sup>61</sup> Unfortunately none of the chroniclers give an account of how Norfolk conducted himself on the expedition, but the campaign as a whole achieved very little and – if through no fault of his own – it was an inglorious beginning to his military career.

On 1 January 1320 Norfolk received his customary gift of a silver cup from the king to mark the New Year.<sup>62</sup> At this time preparations were being made for Edward II to travel to France to perform homage for his French lands to Philip V (Norfolk's cousin – see Figure 1), who had been summoning the English king to take his oath of fealty since he first came to the throne in 1316.<sup>63</sup> On 26 February Norfolk and his followers were issued safe conducts to accompany the king on this expedition, which was probably his first journey overseas.<sup>64</sup> Edward II and his courtiers departed from Dover on about 19 June. Homage was given at Amiens in late June or early July, and the king and his party had returned to England by 22 July.<sup>65</sup>

During the regnal year of 7 July 1320 to 6 July 1321, Norfolk seems to have been in close attendance on the king as he witnessed 33.3 percent of royal charters issued during this period – the highest number witnessed by him in any given year throughout the entire reign, with the sole exception of 1325-26.<sup>66</sup> Up to this point Norfolk's political role had progressed much as one might expect for a young member of the royal family, and the prospects for his future career looked promising. Although he had not received the full bequest intended by his father, he had been given the

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<sup>61</sup> *Bruce*, 658-9; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 162-9; *Anonimalle*, 96-9; *RCWL*, 159-60; Sadler, *Border Fury*, 149.

<sup>62</sup> Edward II often gave silver cups to members of the royal family and occasionally to favoured household officials at New Year: BL Add. MS 17362, fo. 13r; BL Add. MS 9951, fo. 41r.

<sup>63</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 312-4.

<sup>64</sup> *CPR*, 1317-1321, 419.

<sup>65</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 178-9; E. Pole Stuart, 'The Interview between Philip V and Edward II at Amiens in 1320', *EHR*, 163 (1926), 412-415.

<sup>66</sup> J. S. Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists for the Reign of Edward II', in N. Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England I* (Woodbridge, 2000), 1-20.



earldom of Norfolk at a relatively young age, followed by the marshalship of England and a number of other lesser grants. He had acted as *custos Angliae*, taken part in his first military campaign, accompanied Edward II on his ceremonial expedition to perform homage to the king of France, and appeared to be a regular attendant at court.

It has therefore generally been assumed that Norfolk was 'securely royalist' during the civil war of 1321-22, and on the surface this does seem to have been the case.<sup>67</sup> Tensions within the March of Wales had gradually been increasing since the division of the Clare inheritance in late 1317, which had prompted Hugh Despenser the younger (one of the recipients of the Clare fortune in respect of his wife, Eleanor Clare) to embark upon a campaign of territorial aggrandizement in the region. Despenser the younger's territorial ambitions had been supported by the king, and by January 1321 Edward II was forced to forbid armed gatherings in the area.<sup>68</sup> Rumours reached the king that the earl of Hereford was gathering troops in his lordship of Brecon with the intention of attacking Despenser the younger's neighbouring lands, and consequently Edward II ordered Hereford's castle of Builth to be confiscated.<sup>69</sup> In March 1321 the king left Westminster for Gloucester, and Norfolk seems to have been one of those who accompanied him as he witnessed charters there on 28 March and 13 April.<sup>70</sup> A memorandum in the close rolls also records that when the chancellor delivered the great seal to Edward II at the house of the Friars Minor in Gloucester on 16 April, Norfolk was present there together with Edmund of Woodstock, the earl of Arundel, the Despensers and Geoffrey Scrope.<sup>71</sup> It was while in Gloucester on 2 April that Edward II gave a commission to Norfolk and the justice Henry Spigurnel to sit in judgement on Hugh Audley the younger (another recipient of the Clare inheritance, who had lost his

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<sup>67</sup> M. Packe, *King Edward III* (London, 1983), 14.

<sup>68</sup> For a fuller explanation of Despenser the younger's activities in the March of Wales and the civil war of 1321-22, see J. C. Davies, 'The Despenser War in Glamorgan', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 9 (1915), 21-64.

<sup>69</sup> *CFR*, 1319-1327, 50.

<sup>70</sup> *RCWL*, 169.

<sup>71</sup> *CCR*, 1318-1323, 366-7; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(ii), 161.



lordship of Gwennllwyg to Despenser the younger), on a charge of refusing to meet with the king when summoned. On 8 April Norfolk and Spigurnel duly ruled in favour of the king, and Audley's lands were confiscated the following day.<sup>72</sup>

Over the summer, events turned against Edward II. In May, Hereford and the other Marcher lords began to attack Despenser the younger's castles and lands, first attacking Newport and then capturing Cardiff. A parliament was called, but the magnates arrived at Westminster in July with large retinues and accused Despenser the younger of 'being too greedy and thus unsuitable to be with the king; he was accused of being an evil counsellor; he was accused of being a conspirator and a liar; he was accused of being a destroyer of the people, a disinheritor of the crown, an enemy of king and kingdom'.<sup>73</sup> On 14 August, the king acceded to the demands of his magnates and both of the Despensers were exiled. The elder Despenser went abroad, whilst Despenser the younger took to piracy.<sup>74</sup> The ensuing stalemate following the banishment of the Despensers did not, however, last for long. On 13 October 1321 Queen Isabella (who had been visiting the shrine of St Thomas Becket at Canterbury) asked for and was refused entry into Leeds Castle in Kent by the wife of Bartholomew Badlesmere, to whom the castle belonged. Badlesmere had until very recently been one of the king's most loyal supporters, but may have harboured ambitions towards the earldom of Kent, which in July 1321 had been granted to Edmund of Woodstock.<sup>75</sup> Edward II perceived an opportunity to make an attack against his enemies, and promptly ordered a force to be sent into Kent to besiege Leeds Castle. On 17 October the earl of Athol and John Weston the younger (who as marshal of the king's household was sent as Norfolk's deputy) were ordered to journey there as an advance force, following which the king,

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<sup>72</sup> *CFR*, 1319-1327, 51-2; *CPR*, 1317-1321, 572-3; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(ii), 158.

<sup>73</sup> '*Arguebatur Hugo nimium cupidus et per hoc regi minus ydoneus; arguebatur malus consiliarius; arguebatur conspirator et falsus; arguebatur destructor populi, exheredator corone, inimicus regis et regni*': *Vita*, ed. Childs, 192-5. Also see *Anonimalle*, 100-1; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 229.

<sup>74</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 196-7; Haines, *King Edward II*, 124-32.

<sup>75</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 50-1.



Norfolk himself and the earls of Pembroke, Richmond, Warenne, Arundel and Kent seem shortly to have arrived.<sup>76</sup> Although the garrison of the castle surrendered on 31 October, Edward II ordered that they should all be beheaded, because ‘the king wished to give an example to others, so that no one in future would dare to hold fortresses against him’.<sup>77</sup>

In late November and early December 1321, Edward II began to try to persuade his prelates to aid him in recalling the Despensers, and the other Marchers were once more spurred into action.<sup>78</sup> On 6 December the contrariants captured Gloucester. The king had been at Cirencester over Christmas, but in early January 1322 he turned northwards towards Bridgnorth and Shrewsbury, where his army was finally able to cross the River Severn.<sup>79</sup> The author of the *Vita* noted that ‘his two brothers came to the lord king’s help, namely Thomas, Earl Marshal, and Edmund, earl of Kent, active soldiers considering their age’.<sup>80</sup> At this point Norfolk and the other earls in the king’s company seem to have attempted to mediate between the Edward II and the rebels, as they worked towards the peaceful surrender of the two Mortimers (Roger Mortimer of Chirk and his nephew, Roger Mortimer of Wigmore) and their adherents throughout January. On 13 January the king granted to them a safe conduct at the request of Norfolk, Kent, Richmond, Arundel, Pembroke and Warenne, to enable them to go to Betton Lestraunge where negotiations were to take place.<sup>81</sup> The Mortimers surrendered on about 22 January, prostrated themselves before the king at Shrewsbury, and were immediately arrested upon order of the king and taken to the Tower of London pending

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<sup>76</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 29; *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 199; Doherty, *Isabella*, 70-1.

<sup>77</sup> ‘*Voluit enim rex exemplum aliis prebere, ut nullus de cetero audeat contra eum municiones tenere*’: *Vita*, ed. Childs, 198-9.

<sup>78</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 133-5.

<sup>79</sup> *Anonimale*, 104-5; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 202-3; Haines, *Church and Politics*, 134.

<sup>80</sup> ‘*Conuenerunt autem in auxilium domini regis duo fratres sui, uidelicet Thomas comes Marescallus et Edmundus comes Cancie, pro etate strenui*’: *Vita*, ed. Childs, 198-9.

<sup>81</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 47-8; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(ii), 174.



execution.<sup>82</sup> This does not seem to have deterred Norfolk and the royalist earls from continuing to negotiate with the king's remaining enemies, as in February they persuaded the king to grant safe conducts to all the contrarians who wished to treat with the king (with the sole exception of Badlesmere).<sup>83</sup> Given the treatment of the Mortimers upon their surrender, this attempt at mediation between the king and his enemies was never likely to succeed. The king therefore gathered his army and pursued the contrarians towards Tutbury Castle, where Roger Damory was found on the verge of death and taken prisoner, whilst Kent and Warenne were sent to besiege Lancaster's castle of Pontefract. Sir Andrew Harclay intercepted the earls of Lancaster and Hereford with their supporters at Boroughbridge on 16 March, and in the ensuing battle Hereford was killed and Lancaster was forced to surrender due to the desertion of many of his retainers. Lancaster was taken from Boroughbridge to Pontefract, where on 20 March he was tried by his peers, found guilty of treason, and put to death two days later. The executions of other contrariant leaders followed in April – Badlesmere was hanged and beheaded at Canterbury, Roger Clifford and John Mowbray at York.<sup>84</sup> The civil war was over, the king and the Despensers victorious.

By all outward appearances then, Norfolk was a firm supporter of the king throughout the civil war of 1321-22. He was in close attendance upon the king in early 1321 and ruled in favour of Edward II against Hugh Audley. He joined the siege of Leeds Castle in October 1321, and was present in the king's army in early 1322, at which time he was involved in negotiating the surrender of the king's enemies. Under the surface, however, there is evidence to suggest that the relationship between Norfolk and the king seriously deteriorated during this period. Having witnessed 33.3 percent of

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<sup>82</sup> Dryburgh agrees that negotiations did take place between the Mortimers and the royalist earls acting as the king's envoys, but suggests that it was the Mortimers themselves who first initiated these negotiations because the vulnerability of their position had become apparent: P. R. Dryburgh, 'The Career of Roger Mortimer, First Earl of March (c.1287-1330)' (Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, University of Bristol, 2002), 81-9.

<sup>83</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 70; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(ii), 178.

<sup>84</sup> *Anonimale*, 108-9; *CFR, 1319-1327*, 105; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 58-9.



Edward II's charters in the regnal year 1320-21, Norfolk witnessed no royal charters between 13 April 1321 and 8 September 1322 – a period of well over a year.<sup>85</sup> There is no reason to suppose that he was abroad for any of this period, and his complete disappearance from the royal charter witness lists must surely be interpreted as a sign of the king's disfavour or disapproval.

With very little evidence to explain this matter, the causes of the apparent rift between Norfolk and the king must remain speculative. It is possible that it stemmed from Norfolk's marriage at about this time to Alice Hales, the daughter of a Norfolk knight and coroner, who was a very lowly match for the son of a king.<sup>86</sup> In 1320-21 Edward II had been engaged in negotiations with James II, king of Aragon, regarding a marriage alliance involving Norfolk, Prince Edward and two of James II's daughters.<sup>87</sup> Norfolk was clearly aware of these planned arrangements regarding his future marriage, as he had been present at Gloucester on 28 March 1321 when Edward II sent his envoy, Master Pierre Galicien, to Aragon to further the negotiations.<sup>88</sup> It may be, therefore, that soon afterwards Norfolk knowingly married Alice Hales against Edward II's plans and wishes. Alternatively, the king may have disapproved of Norfolk's excommunication at about this time, which – according to the bishop of Winchester – was '*incurrit occasione manuum inieccionis violente in Deodatum de Pyno, clericum nostrum*'. Norfolk's excommunication had clearly taken place at some time before August 1321, on which date the bishop of Winchester wrote to the bishop of Salisbury to ask for his help in gaining absolution for the earl.<sup>89</sup>

Perhaps the most likely explanation is that Norfolk had some sympathy with the contrarians and that Edward II suspected his loyalty. After all, he was a Marcher baron

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<sup>85</sup> *RCWL*, 169-82; Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', 1-20.

<sup>86</sup> The exact date of the marriage of Norfolk to Alice Hales is unknown, but it must have occurred at about this time since they had a son of marriageable age in 1328. For further discussion of this matter see below, 139-40.

<sup>87</sup> *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, ed. P. Chaplais, 2 vols. (London, 1975-82), i.(i), 63-5.

<sup>88</sup> *RCWL*, 169; *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, i.(i), 63-5.

<sup>89</sup> *The Registers of John de Sandale and Rigaud de Asserio, Bishops of Winchester (A.D. 1316-1323)*, ed. F. J. Baigent (London, 1897), 410.



in respect of his lordship of Chepstow, and the civil war had arisen not solely because of the favouritism shown by the king to the Despensers, but also because that favouritism had directly threatened Marcher rights. Since the Normans had first made inroads into Wales they had held their territories by right of conquest, and this entitled them to a variety of privileges not enjoyed by landholders in England. Amongst the customs claimed by Marcher lords was their right to alienate or inherit their lordships without the king's permission, and it was a threat to this prerogative which sparked the conflict of 1321-22.<sup>90</sup> Earlier in the reign William Braose, lord of Gower in the March of Wales, had suffered financial difficulties and had foolishly entered into agreements to sell his lordship not only to the earl of Hereford, but also to Roger Mortimer and possibly to Despenser the younger as well. Braose's son-in-law, John Mowbray, also naturally expected to inherit the lordship.<sup>91</sup> In the event it was Mowbray who took possession of the lordship when Braose died, but seeing an opportunity to obtain Gower for himself, Despenser the younger suggested to the king that since Mowbray had not obtained royal permission to enter the lordship, he should forfeit the land. On 13 November 1320, Edward II ordered his escheator to go in person to Gower and to take it into the king's hands, and this act was seen by the Marcher lords as a direct contravention of their rights.<sup>92</sup>

At the very least, Norfolk appears to have favoured negotiations with the contrarians. In March 1321, at the very beginning of the conflict, the writs ordering that Hereford's castle of Builth should be confiscated were delayed at the request of Norfolk, who – apparently acting upon his own initiative – arranged a parlance with the earl, who also happened to be his brother-in-law (see Figure 1).<sup>93</sup> Hereford did not

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<sup>90</sup> For the various prerogatives claimed by the Marchers, including their right to alienate and inherit land without consulting the Crown, see M. Howell, 'Regalian Right in Wales and the March: The Relation of Theory to Practice', *Welsh History Review*, 7 (1974-5), 269-88.

<sup>91</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 37-9; Davies, 'Despenser War', 28-30.

<sup>92</sup> *CFR*, 1319-1327, 40.

<sup>93</sup> *CCW*, i. 3.



appear at the arranged meeting and consequently the confiscation of Builth went ahead, but this did not prevent Norfolk from attempting to negotiate the surrender of the Mortimers and the other contrarians in January and February 1322. Edward II, however, was not in the mood for negotiating, and the king's treatment of the Mortimers in particular made Norfolk the subject of contemporary criticism. The author of the *Anonimale Chronicle* (who, it should be noted, like many contemporary chroniclers demonstrates a distinct sympathy for members of the baronial opposition and a hatred of the Despensers), wrote that 'by the conspiracy of messengers, his [the king's] brothers and others, who came back and forth between the king and the two Mortimers like false brokers, and did so much by their cunning and conspiring that the Mortimers came to the king in peace'.<sup>94</sup> Adam Murimuth (a canon of St Paul's who, although he only began to write his history after 1338, seems to have used contemporary notes or a diary), also named Norfolk and the earls of Pembroke, Richmond and Warenne as having fraudulently mediated with the Mortimers.<sup>95</sup> The chroniclers clearly felt that Norfolk had been complicit in the arrest of the Mortimers following their surrender, but it is entirely possible that he had expected the king to be lenient. It is also plausible that Norfolk was unhappy with the less than chivalric way in which Edward II was conducting his war. The execution of the garrison of Leeds Castle in October 1321 did not follow the normal code of practice and, as Fryde has noted, this event 'opens a new episode in English history when opponents of the king could seriously expect to lose their heads if they were defeated'.<sup>96</sup> The chroniclers lamented what they regarded as excessive cruelty on the part of the king, and Norfolk may also have disapproved of the extreme measures being taken against his peers and kinsmen.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> *Anonimale*, 106-7.

<sup>95</sup> *Adae Murimuth Continuatio Chronicarum*, ed. E. M. Thompson (London, 1889), 35; Gransden, *Historical Writing*, ii. 29-30.

<sup>96</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 50-1.

<sup>97</sup> *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 234.



That Edward II suspected Norfolk's loyalty at this time is suggested by the fact that on 12 November 1321 he was one of the recipients of a letter close forbidding various magnates to attend a meeting arranged by Lancaster, which was to take place at Doncaster on 29 November. This letter was sent to over one hundred magnates (most of whom were contrarians such as the earl of Hereford and John Mowbray), but it was by no means sent to every individual. The earls of Kent, Pembroke and Richmond, for instance, were not recipients of the letter. The fact that Norfolk was sent the letter suggests that the king doubted his allegiance.<sup>98</sup> It is also notable that after the failure to negotiate with the remaining contrarians in February 1322, Norfolk disappears from the scene. When the rebels failed to appear to treat with the king, the earls of Kent, Richmond, Pembroke, Arundel and Atholl – but not Norfolk – denounced them as traitors, and it was the earls of Kent and Warenne who were sent to besiege Lancaster's castle of Pontefract. Norfolk also seems to have been absent from Lancaster's trial and execution. The chroniclers mention those present as being the king, the Despensers, and the earls of Kent, Pembroke, Richmond, Warenne, Arundel, Angus and Atholl.<sup>99</sup> It appears, therefore, that after February 1322 Norfolk ceased to take an active part in the civil war.

The battle of Boroughbridge was undoubtedly an important turning point in the reign of Edward II. The king had resoundingly defeated his enemies, who were executed, imprisoned, or forfeited their lands. With the vast estates of the contrarians at his disposal, Edward II had ample opportunity to reward his loyal subjects. Immediately after the battle of Boroughbridge, 'Edward had the nation behind him...It was the 1322-

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<sup>98</sup> TNA C54/139, m. 23d, calendared in *CCR, 1318-1323*, 505-6; G. L. Haskins, 'The Doncaster Petition, 1321', *EHR*, 53 (1938), 478-85.

<sup>99</sup> *CFR, 1319-1327*, 105; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 58-9. The names of those present at Lancaster's trial and execution vary slightly in the chronicles, but none mention Norfolk in connection with the event: *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 347; 'Annales Paulini', 302; 'Gesta Edwardi', 76-7; G. L. Haskins, 'A Chronicle of the Civil Wars of Edward II', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 78; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 311-12.



26 measures which alienated the nation and cost him his throne'.<sup>100</sup> A number of scholars have similarly suggested that the civil war of 1321-22 proved to be a turning point in the career of Norfolk. For instance, McKisack says that Norfolk became 'closely aligned with the court',<sup>101</sup> while Keen goes further in suggesting that after Boroughbridge 'a number of new men emerged into prominence in consequence, notably Henry, the brother and apparent heir of Earl Thomas...and the king's two half-brothers, Edmund Earl of Kent and Thomas Earl of Norfolk'.<sup>102</sup>

While it is true that the civil war was a turning point in Norfolk's career, it would be entirely erroneous to suggest that it was in any way a positive one. Whatever the cause of the disagreement between Norfolk and Edward II, it did not simply disappear following the king's victory at Boroughbridge. Norfolk did participate in the king's campaign against the Scots during the summer of 1322, to which he had been summoned on 25 March and for which he had received safe conduct on 20 July.<sup>103</sup> He did not, however, witness a single royal charter until 8 September 1322 at Newbiggin, and in fact witnessed only 11.4 percent of the king's charters issued during the entire regnal year of 1322-23.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, Norfolk did not receive from the king any of the lands confiscated from the contrariants subsequent to the battle of Boroughbridge. The majority of these forfeited estates were given to the Despensers, who received properties worth £2,153 19s. 11¾d. between 1322 and 1326.<sup>105</sup> Not only was Norfolk failing to receive patronage in the form of monetary or landed grants, he was also not being given any political responsibility or influence through commissions or offices between 1322 and 1325.

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<sup>100</sup> M. R. Powicke, 'The English Commons in Scotland in 1322 and the Deposition of Edward II', *Speculum*, 35 (1960), 558.

<sup>101</sup> McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 74-5.

<sup>102</sup> M. H. Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages: A Political History* (London, 1973), 71.

<sup>103</sup> *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 563, 569; *Foedera*, ii. 485-6; *CPR, 1321-1324*, 187, 190.

<sup>104</sup> *RCWL*, 182; Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', 1-20.

<sup>105</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 109.



This downturn in Norfolk's fortunes was in direct contrast to the career of his younger brother. Edmund of Woodstock had received grants from the king in 1315, 1318 and 1319, and in the spring of 1320 had been sent on an embassy to the pope together with Bartholomew Badlesmere.<sup>106</sup> Like Norfolk, though, Edmund of Woodstock had to wait until the king was under direct political pressure before he was to receive sizeable and significant royal grants. With the first outbreak of hostilities in the March of Wales, Edmund of Woodstock was given some houses in Westminster and the keeping of Gloucester Castle, together with the farm pertaining to the latter town.<sup>107</sup> In June and July 1321 (shortly before the exile of the Despensers), he was appointed to keep the peace in the county of Kent, was created constable of Dover and the Cinque Ports, and – most importantly – he was finally granted his earldom.<sup>108</sup> Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, was an active and loyal supporter of the king throughout the entire duration of the civil war. Unlike Norfolk, he was not a recipient of the letter close of November 1321 whereby the king forbade his magnates from attending the assembly at Doncaster, suggesting that Edward II had no doubts as to Kent's loyalty.<sup>109</sup> Whereas Norfolk disappears from the centre of events in February 1322, Kent remained with the king, denounced the rebels as traitors, besieged Lancaster's castle of Pontefract, and sat in judgement on Thomas of Lancaster and condemned him to death. It is no doubt for this reason that favours continued to be showered upon Kent after Boroughbridge, whilst Norfolk received nothing. In March 1322 Edward II gave to Kent extensive estates in the March of Wales, which had been confiscated from Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, and he also received Oakham Castle during pleasure. In 1322 he was further created sheriff of Rutland, and in 1323 he replaced Andrew Harclay (recently created earl of Carlisle for his victory at Boroughbridge, but soon to be executed for treasonous

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<sup>106</sup> *CPR, 1313-1317*, 360; *CPR, 1317-1321*, 105, 187, 269; *CFR, 1307-1319*, 394-5; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 178-9.

<sup>107</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 568, 581.

<sup>108</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 597, 599.

<sup>109</sup> TNA C54/139, m. 24d, calendared in *CCR, 1318-1323*, 505-6.



collusion with the Scots) as the king's lieutenant in the northern Marches. In April 1324 Kent was sent together with the archbishop of Dublin to France to request a postponement of Edward II's homage to Charles IV, and following the sacking of St Sardos and the confiscation of Gascony by the French king, he was appointed as lieutenant in the duchy.<sup>110</sup> Kent's career was clearly in ascendancy, whilst Norfolk was quickly fading into insignificance following his dispute with the king.

Norfolk's career was in complete eclipse between 1322 and 1324, but by 1325 Edward II was forced to try to win back the support of his half-brother through the use of royal patronage. Kent's leadership in Gascony had been a complete failure, and he had succeeded only in arranging a six month truce with Charles of Valois, the leader of Charles IV's army. It was therefore agreed to send Queen Isabella to the French court to negotiate a peace settlement between her brother and her husband. She landed near Calais on 9 March, and had soon concluded a settlement for the restoration of all Edward II's lands in France, with the exceptions of the Agenais and La Reole. All that was needed was for Edward to travel to France to perform homage.<sup>111</sup> However, the Despensers had made many enemies since Boroughbridge and it was a risk for the king to leave them unprotected in England. Following the Westminster Parliament of June and July 1325 (at which Norfolk was present), it was therefore decided to invest Prince Edward with the king's possessions in France so that he could perform homage in Edward II's stead.<sup>112</sup> The prince duly paid homage to Charles IV in September 1325, but disturbingly neither wife nor son showed any sign of returning to England following the ceremony. There is no doubt that Isabella had been treated poorly following the confiscation of Gascony by the French in 1324 – on 18 September that year her lands in

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<sup>110</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2.

<sup>111</sup> C. Lord, 'Queen Isabella at the Court of France', in C. Given-Wilson (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England II* (Woodbridge, 2002), 46; F. D. Blackley, 'Isabella and the Bishop of Exeter', in M. R. Powicke and T. A. Sandquist (eds), *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson* (Toronto, 1967), 228; Haines, *King Edward II*, 153.

<sup>112</sup> *RCWL*, 197-8; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 234-7; Blackley, 'Isabella', 229.



England had been confiscated because of the French threat, and although she had been given an allowance of eight marks a day in compensation, the order that followed soon afterwards to arrest all persons of French nationality had included the members of her own household.<sup>113</sup> In December 1325 Edward II wrote to Isabella commanding her to return home, and expressing his surprise that she claimed to be too frightened to leave for fear of Despenser the younger.<sup>114</sup> By this time, rumours that Isabella was consorting with English exiles – in particular Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, who had escaped from the Tower of London in August 1323 – were rife, and there was little that Edward II could do except to prepare his defences in case of an invasion.<sup>115</sup>

After three years during which Norfolk had been entirely out of favour, Edward II needed to win back the support of his half-brother. On 13 January 1325 he ordered the keepers of the bishopric of Norwich to pay £200 to Norfolk of the king's gift – the first example of royal patronage being directed towards him since prior to the civil war.<sup>116</sup> Norfolk began to witness royal charters on a more frequent basis, and seems to have been in particularly close attendance upon the king in late 1325 and early 1326. During the regnal year of 1325-26, Norfolk witnessed 42.3 percent of royal charters – the highest percentage witnessed by him throughout the entire reign.<sup>117</sup> In January 1326 he was granted the manor of Ryburgh in Norfolk by Edward II, and by May 1326 he had recovered enough influence to persuade the king to grant the marriage of John Lovel to his sister-in-law, Joan Jermye.<sup>118</sup> At the same time, Edward II was giving Norfolk various commissions in defence of the realm. On 23 January 1326 he was appointed as supervisor of the array in Norfolk and Suffolk.<sup>119</sup> In May he was further appointed captain and principal surveyor of the array in the counties of Norfolk,

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<sup>113</sup> *CFR*, 1319-1327, 300; Blackley, 'Isabella', 225.

<sup>114</sup> Blackley, 'Isabella', 232.

<sup>115</sup> E. L. G. Stones, 'The Date of Roger Mortimer's Escape from the Tower of London', *EHR*, 66 (1951), 97-8.

<sup>116</sup> *CCR*, 1323-1327, 442; see also *CCR*, 1330-1333, 465.

<sup>117</sup> *RCWL*, 197-203; Hamilton, 'Charter Witness Lists', 1-20.

<sup>118</sup> *CPR*, 1324-1327, 212, 267.

<sup>119</sup> *CPR*, 1324-1327, 220; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 737.



Suffolk, Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Essex and Hertford.<sup>120</sup> In July Norfolk was confirmed as the principal surveyor of the array of men-at-arms in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Hertford – the area that was to prove crucial to the defence of the realm and the reign of Edward II.<sup>121</sup>

Despite all his preparations for the defence of the realm, Edward II could do nothing to prevent Isabella and Mortimer from setting sail with an army of invaders in September 1326. The chroniclers give a somewhat confused account as to the exact date and location of Isabella and Mortimer's landing, and the result has been that there are also a number of discrepancies as to when and where the rebels landed in the secondary literature. Examining the chronicles as a whole, it seems likely that the invading force landed on about 24 September 1326 near Harwich at the mouth of the River Orwell, which divides Suffolk and Essex – precisely the area in which Norfolk had been appointed captain and principal surveyor of the array.<sup>122</sup> Norfolk immediately gave his allegiance to Isabella and Mortimer, who were accompanied by Prince Edward, the earl of Kent and John of Hainault. The invaders spent their first night on English soil at Norfolk's manor of Walton, which was only a short distance along the coast.<sup>123</sup>

The importance of Norfolk's role at this time has been entirely underestimated, with the sole exception of Fryde, who has written that 'the stand taken by the earl of Norfolk against his half-brother was no doubt decisive in giving Isabella an initial foothold on the east coast'.<sup>124</sup> Not only was Norfolk captain of the array in the crucial area by royal appointment, this was also a region in which he wielded a considerable amount of personal authority. The majority of his manors lay in the counties of Norfolk

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<sup>120</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 268; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 748.

<sup>121</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 302; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 754.

<sup>122</sup> For some accounts of the invasion given by the chroniclers, see: *Adae Murimuth*, 46-7; *Anonimale*, 122-3; *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 233; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 251; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, 21. For the discussion in secondary literature, see: J. H. Round, 'The Landing of Queen Isabella', *EHR*, 14 (1899), 104-5; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 185-6; Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 150, 285, n. 1-2; Doherty, *Isabella*, 90-1.

<sup>123</sup> *Adae Murimuth*, 46-7; *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 233.

<sup>124</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 5.



and Suffolk, and local men from East Anglia made up a high proportion of his household and retinue.<sup>125</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that he would have been capable of influencing the allegiance of the local population, and Norfolk also had a large military force at his disposal. On 2 September Edward II had ordered that five hundred men-at-arms be raised from Norfolk, while another two hundred men were to be arrayed from Essex and Suffolk, together with thirteen hundred archers. These men were ordered to gather at the mouth of the River Orwell, and to this force of two thousand men should be added Norfolk's own military following, which (as will be discussed below) was probably one of the largest magnate retinues of the early fourteenth century.<sup>126</sup> The chroniclers estimated that Isabella and Mortimer's army numbered about 1,500 men, a figure that historians have considered plausible.<sup>127</sup> These figures suggest that Norfolk would have been entirely able to make a military stand against the invaders had he wished to do so. Instead chose to allow the queen and her lover to disembark unopposed and to join his own sizeable force to theirs, thereby considerably strengthening their position. Norfolk's immediate adherence to the rebels was also an important matter of prestige, which may have encouraged other individuals to transfer their allegiance to the invaders. The news that Isabella and Mortimer had landed successfully without losing a single man, and that the king's own half-brother had deserted to their side, may have persuaded the magnates who were still unsure as to which faction to support that Isabella and Mortimer were most likely to be victorious. Norfolk's actions on 24 September 1326 therefore marked the beginning of the end for Edward II.

Was Norfolk's decision to join Isabella and Mortimer a spur of the moment judgment made upon the instant of their landing, or had he already planned to abandon

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<sup>125</sup> See below, 157-8.

<sup>126</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 302, 315-16; Haines, *King Edward II*, 174-6.

<sup>127</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 314; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 251; Haines, *King Edward II*, 174; M. Prestwich, *Plantagenet England 1225-1360* (Oxford, 2005), 215.



the king in the months preceding the invasion? Certainly Edward II himself never seems to have harboured the suspicion that his half-brother would betray him, perhaps giving weight to the argument that Norfolk decided to join the rebels at the very last moment. The king and the Despensers had received intelligence well before the invasion actually took place that Isabella and Mortimer planned to land along the East Anglian coast, and they would surely not therefore have appointed Norfolk as captain and supervisor of the array in this region if they had any doubts about his loyalty. As early as October 1324 Despenser the younger had written to John Sturmy, claiming that he had information to the effect that Roger Mortimer was building a great fleet which was to arrive ‘*prescheinement en Engleterre ove grant nombre de gentz darmes et autres es parties de Norff et de Suff*’.<sup>128</sup> The king and the Despensers appear to have been in possession of equally accurate intelligence immediately prior to the invasion, given that a force was ordered to gather at the mouth of the River Orwell in early September and that the fleet under John Sturmy was also sent to patrol this coastline.<sup>129</sup>

Of course just because Edward II and the Despensers trusted Norfolk, it does not necessarily follow that he had not been in collusion with the queen and Roger Mortimer. Their invasion seems to have been a well-planned expedition, and given the opportunity they would certainly have chosen to land on a stretch of coast supervised by a magnate sympathetic to their initiative, rather than an area in which they stood the risk of immediately having to face a pitched battle. It seems plausible that Norfolk may have been in treasonous correspondence with Isabella and Mortimer – or perhaps more probably his brother Edmund, earl of Kent – well before the invasion, and that the place and date of the landing were agreed upon in advance. This is certainly the view of Ian Mortimer, who has suggested that Despenser’s knowledge in 1324 that Roger Mortimer was planning to land on Norfolk’s estates ‘suggests that some contact on the subject of

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<sup>128</sup> *The War of Saint-Sardos (1323-1325): Gascon Correspondence and Diplomatic Documents*, ed. P. Chaplais (London, 1954), 72-3.

<sup>129</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 302, 315-16; Haines, *King Edward II*, 174-6.



rebellion had been made between Roger and Thomas two years before the invasion actually occurred'.<sup>130</sup> Fryde has also commented that 'one can reasonably suspect that Kent and Norfolk had been treasonably in touch with each other before the invasion'.<sup>131</sup> It is impossible to prove this theory without actual documentary evidence, and Norfolk is hardly likely to have retained treasonous letters in his keeping. Nevertheless, that such correspondence between the rebels and their supporters in England was being exchanged is indicated by the fact that on 12 May 1326 John Weston the younger was appointed to scrutinise all letters brought from, or taken to, foreign parts, 'as the king understands that very many such letters have been brought in clandestinely in places other than those where ships usually call and that the commissioners formerly appointed have been negligent in their duty'.<sup>132</sup> Another indication of how easy it may have been for a trusted magnate such as Norfolk to get messages to the Continent is shown by the liberties allowed to a certain John Dousinhou. At the outbreak of war with France, Edward II had ordered the arrest of all merchants from the area of the Agenais, Perigord, Cahors, Besaz, Saintonge and the Isle of Oleron, but on 22 September 1325 the mayor and sheriffs of London were ordered to release John Dousinhou (who is described as a merchant from Besaz) and to restore all his goods, since Norfolk had testified to the king on Dousinhou's behalf that he 'has always borne himself faithfully to the king' and that during the disturbances in France he had been staying in Norfolk's company.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, on 17 August 1326 – only a month before the invasion – Edward II granted protection for one year to John Dousinhou so that he could travel to Gascony, again thanks to Norfolk's testimony of his trustworthiness.<sup>134</sup> John Dousinhou clearly owed a great deal to Norfolk – not least his freedom and his goods. Might he have repaid his patron by carrying a letter across the English Channel to the rebels?

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<sup>130</sup> Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 284, n. 22.

<sup>131</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 186.

<sup>132</sup> *CPR*, 1324-1327, 267.

<sup>133</sup> *CCR*, 1323-1327, 405.

<sup>134</sup> *CPR*, 1324-1327, 312.



Assuming that Norfolk's decision to join Isabella and Mortimer had been reached some time before the actual invasion took place, what were his reasons? Norfolk's motivations for deserting Edward II in September 1326 have typically been listed as his resentment at the king's confiscation of the marshalship of England in 1323, the fact that in the same year he was forced to grant the lordship of Chepstow to Despensers the younger for much less than its true value, and that he hated the Despensers because of 'their monopoly of the king's presence'.<sup>135</sup>

In reality, the confiscation of the marshalship in 1323 by the king probably had little bearing on Norfolk's decision in 1326. As marshal of England, one of Norfolk's duties was to appoint a deputy to serve in the court of king's bench. In 1323, the king's justices complained to Edward II that Norfolk had failed to appoint such a deputy whilst the court was on eyre hearing pleas in the county of Lancaster, and consequently the king took the office of the marshalship into his own hands. On 19 November 1323 at Nottingham, Norfolk asked Edward II to restore his office to him, and this request was granted on condition that the earl pay a fine of £100. The king made it clear that he would not tolerate any further oversights by Norfolk in relation to the marshalship, but he remitted the £100 fine and the office was promptly restored.<sup>136</sup> This was not an event of any great magnitude, and it seems unlikely that Norfolk would have made his decision to betray Edward II on the basis of it.

The series of grants made during 1323 and 1324 whereby Norfolk granted his lordship of Chepstow in the March of Wales to Despensers the younger, is a far more complex issue. It has been widely accepted that Norfolk was forced to make this grant, and historians have interpreted it as evidence of the power of the Despensers, from whose avarice not even the king's own half-brother was safe. Tout, for instance, noted

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<sup>135</sup> Tuck, *Crown and Nobility*, 73. Hutchison has similarly concluded that Norfolk and Kent 'hated the Despensers more than they loved their Edward', and McKisack says that their 'hatred of the Despensers was stronger than their distrust of Mortimer': Hutchison, *Edward II*, 134-40; McKisack, *Fourteenth Century*, 93, 80-1. See also Fryde, *Tyranny*, 186.

<sup>136</sup> TNA C54/141, m. 31d, calendared in *CCR, 1323-1327*, 144-5.



that Norfolk was forced to grant the lordship of Chepstow and all his other estates beyond the River Severn to Despenser the younger, and that this had the consequence of extending the favourite's influence in the March of Wales eastwards.<sup>137</sup> Similarly, Fryde has written that:

‘There was not a landowner in England who could feel his possessions safe from their [the Despensers'] avarice...In 1323 Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and the king's half-brother, was forced to rent out to the younger Hugh his lordship of Chepstow, which included a major wine-importing port. He obtained in exchange a rent far below its value, and later was forced to sell Chepstow to the younger Despenser for the equivalent of only four years' annual rent'.<sup>138</sup>

That Norfolk was forced to cede his Marcher lordship to Despenser the younger is certainly a natural assumption. Marcher lordships were valuable territories with extensive prerogatives and so were rarely granted away, and it has already been noted that Despenser the younger had been extending his lands in this area since the division of the Clare inheritance in 1317. The avarice of the Despensers is well attested, and following their downfall in 1326 there was a flood of petitions from individuals who claimed to have been wrongly disseised by them. Both Elizabeth Burgh (another of the co-heiresses of Clare inheritance) and Alice Lacy (the widow of Thomas of Lancaster) claimed to have been imprisoned by the Despensers until they agreed to surrender various of their estates to them.<sup>139</sup> Saul has shown that the Despensers also had a large number of followers who held judicial offices in the shires, and that in many cases the Despensers had used their influence to disseise individuals in a way that was ostensibly legal, but which in reality had often involved the corruption of royal judicial authority in

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<sup>137</sup> Tout, *Place of the Reign of Edward II*, 154.

<sup>138</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 106-7.

<sup>139</sup> G. A. Holmes, 'A Protest Against the Despensers, 1326', *Speculum*, 30 (1955), 207-12; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 113.



the counties.<sup>140</sup> Chepstow would certainly have been an attractive prospect to the Despensers, but the series of grants whereby Norfolk ceded the lordship to Despenser the younger have never been thoroughly analysed, and it will be argued here that affair has been misinterpreted.

The initial grant, which was made on 17 August 1323 at Grenehou (Ingleby Greenhow) in Cleveland, has survived and is reproduced in Illustration 1 below.<sup>141</sup> The first thing to note about this grant is that it is said to have been made in the presence of the king, and that it was witnessed not only by Walter Stapeldon (bishop of Exeter and treasurer) and Robert Baldock (archdeacon of Middlesex and chancellor), but also by three members of Norfolk's retinue – Sir Robert Morley, Sir Robert Aspale and Sir Gregory Chastel.<sup>142</sup> The grant was obviously therefore made openly, in contrast to the majority of the Despensers' other acquisitions in the period between 1322 and 1326. The second important point to note is that Norfolk was clearly able to set down his own terms within the charter – another feature not generally notable in the Despensers' dealings with landholders whose properties they desired. The grant stated that Despenser the younger was to hold the castle of Storgoill (Chepstow), together with the manors and towns of Chepstow and Tidenham, and all of Norfolk's other lands beyond the River Severn in Wales or the March of Wales, for life only and for a yearly rent of two hundred pounds, which was payable at Easter and Michaelmas. Norfolk also withheld to himself all rights relating to the marshalship of England, should that office in any way pertain to the lordship.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> N. Saul, 'The Despensers and the Downfall of Edward II', *EHR*, 99 (1984), 23-33; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 116.

<sup>141</sup> TNA E40/4880 (see Illustration 1).

<sup>142</sup> These three men are discussed in relation to Norfolk's retinue below, 154-7, 159-60, 163-6.

<sup>143</sup> TNA E40/4880 (see Illustration 1). See also *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, 6 vols. (London, 1890-1915), iii. 116.







On 31 August 1323 there was an inspeximus and confirmation of the grant that had been made two weeks previously, which added a number of further clauses in favour of Norfolk:

‘The said Hugh shall keep the said castle, manors and lands without waste, sale or destruction...with liability to distress for the payment of the above farm if it should fall into arrear, and also the earl, if the said rent fall in arrear, may enter and hold the castle, manors and lands without contradiction. On the death of the said Hugh the castle, manors and lands shall revert to the said earl’.<sup>144</sup>

On 20 March 1324 the original deed granting Chepstow to Despenser the younger was enrolled, and under the enrolment it is noted that Norfolk came into the chancery at Westminster on 24 March 1324 to acknowledge the grant in person.<sup>145</sup> On 1 April 1324 there followed yet another inspeximus and confirmation of the grant, which added no new terms and which suggests that Despenser the younger was eager to have the legitimacy of the transaction verified.<sup>146</sup> Finally, on 15 November 1324 Norfolk, ‘in consideration of 1,200 marks paid to him beforehand by Hugh, releases the said rent to Hugh for life and all action for waste’. This new deed was witnessed by the bishops of Norwich and Exeter and by the earls of Arundel and Warenne, and it was furthermore noted that Norfolk once again came into the chancery and acknowledged the grant in person.<sup>147</sup> The new deed was confirmed on 18 November, and enrolled on 28 November.<sup>148</sup>

Given the facts – that Norfolk was able to lay down his own terms, that members of his retinue amongst others witnessed the original deed, and that the charters were re-examined and confirmed by the king on a number of occasions – it is difficult to maintain the argument that Norfolk was somehow compelled to cede the lordship of

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<sup>144</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 341-2.

<sup>145</sup> TNA C54/141, m. 20d, calendared in *CCR, 1323-1327*, 168.

<sup>146</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 402.

<sup>147</sup> *CCR, 1323-1327*, 327.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*; *CPR, 1324-1327*, 52.



Chepstow to Despenser the younger. Norfolk was not a defenceless widow who could be imprisoned and threatened, nor was he a relatively lowly county knight or squire who could be easily manipulated through the use of the local judiciary. Even though he was out of favour with the king in 1323 and 1324, Norfolk was nevertheless a powerful magnate with a large retinue and it is difficult to perceive how the Despensers could have forced him to grant away his lordship against his own will. Furthermore, although it has generally been assumed that Norfolk received far less in rent than the actual yearly value of the lordship of Chepstow, the inquisition held after Roger Bigod IV's death in 1306 valued his all of his lands in Wales together with their appurtenances at £165 14s. 1½d. per annum.<sup>149</sup> Even assuming that the king's ministers underestimated the value of the lordship, this would suggest that the two hundred pounds in annual rent that Despenser the younger agreed to pay to Norfolk was not such an unreasonable figure, and that the whole affair needs re-evaluation. The most likely explanation is that Norfolk was experiencing financial difficulties, and that he willingly granted Chepstow to Despenser the younger in August 1323 in return for a fixed annual rent, and that even more pressing monetary needs caused him to release Despenser of the this yearly rent in November 1324 in return for a more immediate payment of £1,200. In support of this argument can be cited the fact that in return for Norfolk's service in the Scottish campaign of 1322 together with his contingent, the king had promised to pay him £321 2s., but by the close of account in the relevant wardrobe book (19 October 1323) the king still owed him £211 2s.<sup>150</sup> Norfolk would therefore have needed to reimburse his sizeable retinue out of his own income at this time.

Of course if Edward II had shown more generosity towards Norfolk, then he may not have needed to part with his lordship of Chepstow at all. While it is true that Norfolk received his earldom at a relatively young age, that the marshalship of England

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<sup>149</sup> TNA C133/127, m. 16, calendared in *CIPM*, iv. 290-310.

<sup>150</sup> BL Stowe MS 553, fos 56v, 147r.



soon followed, and that up until the civil war his career looked increasingly promising, Edward II never displayed any great munificence towards his half-brothers. In particular, no mention was ever made of the lands and rents worth 4,000 marks per year that Edward I had intended should be granted to Norfolk in addition to his earldom, and there is nothing to suggest that Edward II ever intended to make restitution to him for this. Similarly, Kent never received the full amount assigned to him by Edward I in 1306.<sup>151</sup> A comparison here with the French monarchy is illuminating. It was noted in the first chapter that Philip IV of France never lavished favour on his half-brother, Count Louis of Evreux, to the same extent that he favoured other members of the royal family. Nevertheless, Philip IV did actually increase the bequest left to him by their father. Before his death in 1285, Philip III had stipulated that Louis of Evreux should receive lands worth 12,500 *livres tournois* per annum, and in October 1298 Philip IV increased this bequest to 15,000 *livres tournois*. In the event, Philip IV did not assign these lands to his half-brother until 1308, and even then Louis of Evreux claimed that he had not received estates worth the full amount, but the French king at least had the appearance of generosity, in contrast to Edward II.<sup>152</sup> It is also clear that Edward II was most generous to his half-brothers when he was facing political difficulties and needed their support. Norfolk was granted his earldom in 1312 when the country was on the verge of civil war, and the marshalship of England in 1316 when Lancaster was at the height of his power. Kent did not receive his earldom until 1321, shortly prior to the exile of the Despensers, and even after Boroughbridge – when vast estates were in the king's hands – Kent only received a relatively small proportion of contrariant lands.<sup>153</sup> Edward II did understand the value of patronage – after the exile of Gaveston in 1308 he successfully won back the support of the majority of his magnates through the judicious

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<sup>151</sup> *Foedera*, i.(ii), 998.

<sup>152</sup> Brown, 'The Prince is the Father of the King', 301-2.

<sup>153</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2.



use of royal favour.<sup>154</sup> His patronage 'policy' though – if he can be credited with such a thing – was by no means even-handed. When events were running smoothly he lavished gifts on his favourites, but only made significant grants to his other magnates if this was necessary to gain political support against his opponents. Norfolk's return to favour in 1325 and 1326 was entirely due to the fact that the war in France was going badly, and that rumours had begun to circulate about Isabella and Mortimer's plans to invade the realm. Norfolk must have questioned whether, if he continued to support Edward II, he would be appropriately rewarded for his loyalty. The prospects of financial remuneration and the furthering of his political career may well have seemed greater under a regime governed by Isabella and Mortimer.

A further factor which has been overlooked by historians is the conflicting family loyalties facing Norfolk in September 1326. Following his failure to recover the duchy of Gascony, Norfolk's brother Kent had joined Isabella and the growing faction of exiled Englishmen in Paris by the end of 1325. On 6 October of that year, the pope sanctioned Kent's marriage to Margaret Wake, who was a cousin of Roger Mortimer, and through this marriage Kent allied himself with the king's enemies.<sup>155</sup> He may have had second thoughts about his position, as in April 1326 Prior Henry of Eastry claimed in correspondence with archbishop Reynolds to have seen a letter from Kent to Edward II, in which he asked permission to return to England and proclaimed himself innocent of collusion with the rebels.<sup>156</sup> This plea, however, came too late. In March 1326 Edward II had ordered that Kent's lands (together with those of Isabella and Mortimer's other followers such as John Cromwell and John Chaucome), were to be confiscated, and there was no reversal of this decision despite Kent's request to return peaceably to

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<sup>154</sup> The earl of Warenne in particular benefited at this time: *Oxford DNB*, lvii. 399-403; Haines, *King Edward II*, 70-1

<sup>155</sup> Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 285, n. 32.

<sup>156</sup> *Litterae Cantuarienses*, i. 172-4; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 178-9.



England.<sup>157</sup> It was clear Edward II thought Kent guilty of conspiring with his enemies, and in September 1326 Norfolk was faced with the stark choice of which brother to support and which to fight against. It has been shown in the previous chapter that Norfolk and Kent grew up in close proximity, and that only a year separated them in age, whereas Edward II was the elder and more distant sibling. It is not unreasonable to suppose that this may have had a large part to play in Norfolk's decision to abandon the cause of the king in September 1326. It should also be noted that Queen Isabella was not only Norfolk's sister-in-law, but also his cousin through his mother Margaret of France (see Figure 1), and that his nephew Prince Edward was also with the invaders in 1326.

This examination of Norfolk's political role between 1312 and 1326 does a great deal to confirm Phillips' assertion that early fourteenth-century politics can only really be understood by looking at members of the aristocracy as individuals, with differing political objectives and motivations which might alter over time.<sup>158</sup> Although Norfolk fought on the side of the king during the civil war of 1321-22, this chapter has shown that it would be misleading to label him as 'securely royalist' at this time, and he also had very individual reasons for deserting Edward II in 1326, including complicated family ties of loyalty. Like the majority of other magnates, though, Norfolk's major reasons for taking up arms against his half-brother in 1326 were probably the Despensers' monopoly of royal favour and influence, and Edward II's poor use of patronage. The example of Norfolk also supports the theory that it was the period of 'tyranny' between 1322 and 1326 that ultimately caused the failure of Edward II's reign. Despite his sympathies with the contrarians, Norfolk had actively supported the king for the majority of the civil war up until February 1322, and even then he had shown no signs of joining the rebels, but had simply retired from the centre of events. It

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<sup>157</sup> Buck, *Politics, Finance and the Church*, 161.

<sup>158</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 21.



was the complete lack of favour shown to him after Boroughbridge that meant that he was not willing to do the same in 1326 – Edward II's attempts to win back his support prior to the invasion were too little, too late. By supporting Isabella and Mortimer in September 1326 and playing an important part in the success of their campaign, Norfolk had a second opportunity to take up his position as one of the premier magnates of the realm in terms of both wealth and political influence, a position to which he was fully entitled as a son of Edward I.



## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **The King's 'Dearest Uncle'? Norfolk's Political Role, 1326-1338**

In September 1326 Norfolk chose to support Isabella and Mortimer over his half-brother Edward II in the hope that under a new regime he would be presented with a second opportunity to gain the rewards, honours and prestige to which he was entitled. This chapter will investigate the importance of Norfolk's continued support in the aftermath of the invasion, the extent to which he was rewarded for his loyalty by Isabella and Mortimer, and whether or not this second opportunity to win power and influence was realized. It will also analyse Norfolk's political role during the personal rule of Edward III in the 1330s. Given-Wilson has commented that during the 1330s Norfolk was 'apparently an unpopular figure and there is nothing to suggest that Edward [III] greatly lamented his death in 1338'.<sup>1</sup> Similarly, Fryde has suggested that Edward III addressed Norfolk very neutrally in his letters, in contrast to his correspondence with the earl of Kent which demonstrated a greater degree of affection.<sup>2</sup> Are these historians right in alluding to a lack of favour shown to Norfolk by Edward III and, if so, how can this be explained? Furthermore, what do Norfolk's activities and experiences under this monarch reveal about Edward III's style of kingship, and about the attitudes of the established aristocracy to the 'new nobility' created at this time?

It was argued in the previous chapter that Norfolk's actions on 24 September 1326 were vital to the initial success of the invasion, and his continuing loyalty was equally important during the period of uncertainty that followed. Although Isabella and Mortimer had faced no opposition upon their landing and had been joined not only by Norfolk but also shortly thereafter by Henry of Lancaster, they were unsure how the Londoners would react to their coup, and it was for this reason that they did not

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<sup>1</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 224.



immediately march on the capital.<sup>3</sup> Instead Isabella sent letters to the Londoners asking for their support, and in the meantime she and her supporters travelled to Bury St Edmund's, Dunstable, and thence to Oxford, where the bishop of Hereford delivered a sermon in support of their cause.<sup>4</sup> It was also possible that Edward II – who had fled from London on about 2 October with the Despensers, the earl of Arundel and the chancellor, Robert Baldock – would be able to raise an army in Wales, where Despenser the younger held extensive lands and where support for the king might prove stronger.<sup>5</sup>

Having left London, Edward II travelled westwards and had reached Bristol by the middle of October, where Despenser the elder was left in command of the castle garrison. The king and Despenser the younger continued to Tintern, and the relevant royal household roll shows that they had arrived at Chepstow by 20 October.<sup>6</sup> Here Edward II and his few supporters set sail. Their intended destination is unclear – Baker asserts that the king was attempting to reach Lundy Island, but it would seem more probable that he was hoping to land either further down the Welsh coast or in Ireland.<sup>7</sup> The queen and her followers set out in pursuit of the king, and Norfolk was with the army as it travelled westwards. In fact, he grasped the opportunity to turn the political situation to his own financial gain – two years later a royal pardon was granted to four of Norfolk's *familia*, which stated that in October 1326 they had been 'sent by Thomas, earl of Norfolk and marshal of England, as the earl himself declares, to seize and occupy in his name all goods which they could find in the manors of Wynferthyng, Sutton, Reydon, Barwe, Lelleseye, Kereseye, Leyham, Wykes, Thurton and Lammesh,

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<sup>3</sup> According to the chroniclers, Lancaster joined the rebels almost immediately after their landing. Technically he should be referred to as Henry of Leicester at this time – he had petitioned Edward II for the earldoms of Lancaster and Leicester soon after the execution of his brother, Thomas, but he only gradually recovered his inheritance and did not begin to style himself earl of Lancaster until October 1326. He was formally granted the title on 3 February 1327: *Flores Historiarum*, iii. 223; *Adae Murimuth*, 46-7; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 251; *Oxford DNB*, xxvi. 568-572.

<sup>4</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 23.

<sup>5</sup> *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England*, ed. F. W. D. Brie (London, 1906-8), 237-9; *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 22-3.

<sup>6</sup> BL Add. MS 52799, m. 4.

<sup>7</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 22; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 187-9.



late of Hugh le Despenser, the younger'.<sup>8</sup> Several followers of the earl of Kent received similar pardons at the same time for plundering goods from other manors belonging to Despenser the younger, giving the impression that the two brothers had divided the Despenser estates between them to despoil.<sup>9</sup> With an army on the march there was undoubtedly a great deal of violence and disruption in the surrounding countryside at this time, but Fryde has suggested that the most blameworthy were Norfolk and Kent, who 'plundered not only along the line of march but sent agents far and wide to search for suitable booty'.<sup>10</sup> Norfolk's actions at this time certainly suggest a more avaricious side to his character than has been seen hitherto.

Having already enriched himself at the Despensers' expense, Norfolk reached Bristol on about 18 October together with the queen and the rest of the army. It was at Bristol on 26 October that Prince Edward was elected as keeper of the realm, under the reasoning that Edward II had departed from the realm when he set sail from Chepstow. As was customary, Norfolk was the first of the secular lords to have his name appended to this document.<sup>11</sup> The following day Despenser the elder, who had been forced to surrender Bristol Castle to the queen and her followers after only a few days of besiegement, was put on trial before the justice William Trussel. Norfolk was one of the peers who sat in judgment at his trial, together with the earls of Lancaster and Kent, Roger Mortimer and Thomas Wake, who unanimously found Despenser the elder guilty of treason and sentenced him to death.<sup>12</sup>

So far Norfolk had shown no signs of wavering in his support for the queen and her lover, but how would he react to the capture, imprisonment and deposition of his half-brother? It may have been because of this uncertainty that Isabella and Mortimer did not give him a leading role in these events. It was Henry of Lancaster who was

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<sup>8</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 268.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 194.

<sup>11</sup> *CCR, 1323-1327*, 655; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 349.

<sup>12</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 317.



dispatched to capture Edward II and Despenser the younger in south Wales – a task that he accomplished on 16 November – and subsequently the king was held in Lancaster's custody at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire.<sup>13</sup> Norfolk remained with the queen and her court as it travelled to Hereford, where Despenser the younger was brought to trial before the same group of peers who had recently condemned his father. Norfolk was hardly a disinterested judge in this matter – as outlined in the previous chapter, he had granted his lordship of Chepstow to Despenser the younger in 1323 for life, and with the latter's death the valuable lordship would revert to Norfolk. Impartiality however, was not a requirement, and Despenser the younger was condemned and then executed at Hereford on 24 November.<sup>14</sup>

Norfolk and the other magnates and prelates had been summoned to attend parliament at Westminster on 14 December, but subsequently Isabella and Mortimer decided to postpone the difficult matter of how to deal with Edward II until after the Christmas festivities, which took place at Wallingford. Parliament was prorogued, and eventually met on 7 January 1327.<sup>15</sup> There has been much debate surrounding the events of this parliament and the actual process of Edward II's deposition. Should the assembly held at Westminster in January actually be termed a 'parliament' given that the king himself refused to attend? Which individuals were primarily responsible for formulating the deposition, and was it carried through by the will of the magnates or by the community of the realm as a whole? Did Isabella and Mortimer attempt to legalize the deposition by suggesting that Edward II had already willingly (if reluctantly) agreed to abdicate the throne? These issues have been discussed in detail elsewhere.<sup>16</sup> The important fact to note within the context of this study is that although Norfolk did not

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<sup>13</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 319; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnithon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby, 2 vols. (1889-95), ii. 436; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 191-2.

<sup>14</sup> *Anonimale*, 130-1.

<sup>15</sup> *CCR, 1323-1327*, 654; *Parliamentary Writs*, ii.(i), 351.

<sup>16</sup> C. Valente, 'The Deposition and Abdication of Edward II', *EHR*, 113 (1998), 852-81; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 195-200; Haines, *King Edward II*, 188-94, 343-5; Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 216-218.



play a prominent role in Edward II's deposition (as with his capture), neither did he show any signs of wavering in his loyalty to the new regime. It is highly probable that he was present at the meeting of the magnates on 12 January at which Valente has suggested the articles of deposition were formulated.<sup>17</sup> The following day in parliament, Mortimer gave a speech proclaiming the decision of the magnates that Edward II should be deposed. The archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops of Winchester and Hereford each preached a sermon in support of the deposition, and a committee was formulated to take this news to Edward II at Kenilworth. There are discrepancies among the chroniclers as to the exact size and composition of this deputation, but most agree that two earls were included in its number. The Lanercost chronicler names these two earls as Lancaster and Warenne, and on the whole it is unlikely that either of Edward II's half-brothers were among the group who formally withdrew homage from the king on about 20 January.<sup>18</sup> Instead it would seem that Norfolk remained in London, where on 15 January at the Guildhall he and the other earls present, together with the members of their retinues, swore an oath to uphold and safeguard the interests of Isabella and Prince Edward.<sup>19</sup> On about 25 January the deputation reported back to parliament that Edward II had reluctantly agreed to abdicate the throne. With little time wasted, Edward III was crowned at Westminster Abbey on 1 February 1327, and a memorandum notes that Norfolk was among those present at his nephew's coronation.<sup>20</sup>

Norfolk may not have played a leading role in the proceedings surrounding the deposition of his half-brother, but it is nevertheless clear that he was a member of the ruling elite at this time. This is evidenced by the fact that Norfolk was among the twelve individuals appointed on the day of Edward III's coronation to stay with the new king

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<sup>17</sup> Valente, 'Deposition', 854-62.

<sup>18</sup> *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 255. For a comparison of the deputation as described by the other chroniclers, see Haines, *King Edward II*, 192, 453 n. 88.

<sup>19</sup> *CPMR*, 12-13.

<sup>20</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 100; *Foedera*, ii.(ii), 684.



and to advise him, ‘wipouten þe whiche noþing shulde be done’.<sup>21</sup> On 6 March Norfolk was also one of the ten individuals who witnessed the City of London’s charter of liberties – a group which Haines describes as ‘the ruling group in the country early in 1327’.<sup>22</sup> He was, furthermore, a regular witness to royal charters throughout the spring and summer of 1327.<sup>23</sup>

If Isabella and Mortimer had been concerned about Norfolk’s reaction to the deposition of Edward II, then their doubts were unjustified. Tout’s suggestion that Norfolk ‘was bribed to accept the rule of Isabella and Mortimer by lavish grants of the forfeited estates of the Despensers and others’ would seem to be highly valid.<sup>24</sup> At some stage during the Westminster parliament, which resumed on 3 February and continued into March, Norfolk and Kent jointly presented the letter patent formulated by Edward I on 1 August 1306 in which the king had bequeathed to his sons lands and rents worth 10,000 marks and 7,000 marks per annum respectively.<sup>25</sup> The two brothers complained that Edward II had not fully honoured this bequest – that he had granted to Norfolk only the estates formerly belonging to Roger Bigod IV worth 6,000 marks per annum, whilst Kent had received lands and rents to the annual value of 4,000 marks – and they petitioned for compensation from the new king. This provided an ideal means by which Isabella and Mortimer could reward the loyalty shown by Norfolk and Kent, in a way that also emphasized the miserliness of the deposed monarch towards his own half-brothers. There was certainly no opposition from within parliament, where it was asked that ‘the will of our lord the King Edward, grandfather of our present lord the king, be carried out towards Sir Thomas, the earl marshal and Sir Edmund, earl of Kent, his

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<sup>21</sup> The other members of the council were the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the bishops of Winchester and Hereford, the earls of Lancaster, Kent and Warenne, Thomas Wake, Henry Percy, Oliver Ingham and John Roos: *Brut*, 254.

<sup>22</sup> The other witnesses of the charter were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Hereford, Ely and Norwich, the earls of Lancaster and Kent, Roger Mortimer, Thomas Wake and John Roos: Haines, *Church and Politics*, 179, n. 105; Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford*, 189.

<sup>23</sup> TNA C53/114.

<sup>24</sup> *DNB*, lvi. 152-3.

<sup>25</sup> See above, 46-7.



sons, and as fully as their charters show'.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, on 2 March Edward III granted to Norfolk various lands and rents (the majority of which had previously been held by Despenser the elder) to the value of 1,000 marks per annum, in consideration of 'the good service rendered and to be rendered to himself and Queen Isabel'.<sup>27</sup> Kent received estates formerly belonging to the Despensers and the earl of Arundel to the value of £1,401 14s. 3d. per annum, the greater amount perhaps reflecting the fact that Kent had allied himself closely with Isabella and Mortimer prior to the invasion by marrying Mortimer's cousin, Margaret Wake.<sup>28</sup> The following day, 3 March, Norfolk was further granted the valuable wardship of John Segrave (whose family possessed considerable estates in the Midlands and who was later to become his son-in-law), again in return for his services to Queen Isabella, and also in compensation for unspecified expenses incurred by him following the invasion.<sup>29</sup>

These initial rewards granted to Norfolk were promising, and he could reasonably expect to make further financial gains in the future. After all, Isabella and Mortimer had at their disposal not only the forfeited lands of the Despensers and the earl of Arundel, but also a very healthy royal treasury inherited from Edward II.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, the rewards reaped by Norfolk in 1327 were not purely of a financial nature. He was also able to use his influence with the leaders of the new regime to obtain royal favour for a certain William Harwedon, who on 16 August 1327 was granted the custody of Multon Park in Northamptonshire at his request.<sup>31</sup> In addition, he began to receive local and judicial commissions, which had been unforthcoming during much of Edward II's reign. On 24 March 1327, for instance, Norfolk and Kent were

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<sup>26</sup> '*la volunte nostre seignur le roy Edward, ael nostre seignur le roy q'ore est, soit perfournye ver Monsire Thomas counte marescal, et Monsire Edmund counte de Kent, ses fitz, si pleinement come lour charters purportent*': *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson et al., 16 vols. (Woodbridge, 2005), iv. 18.

<sup>27</sup> '*bono et laudabili servicio quod idem comes nobis et Isabelle Regne Angliae nostre carissime hactenus impendit et impendet in futurum*': TNA C53/114 m. 44, calendared in *CChR*, 1327-1341, 3-4.

<sup>28</sup> TNA C53/114, m. 44, calendared in *CChR*, 1327-1341, 4.

<sup>29</sup> *CPR*, 1327-1330, 23.

<sup>30</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 209.

<sup>31</sup> *CPR*, 1327-1330, 163.



jointly commissioned to supervise the proceedings of the keepers of the peace in the county of Suffolk.<sup>32</sup> On 2 November Norfolk was again made a commissioner of the peace in both his comital county and in Suffolk, and on 24 October he was appointed to investigate the violent dissensions that had broken out in Bury St Edmund's between the abbey and the townsmen, and to arrest and imprison the wrongdoers.<sup>33</sup> In relation to the latter commission it should be noted that on 10 November 1327 the king reprimanded Norfolk and his fellow officers for having allowed certain individuals who had been arrested for trespass against the abbey to be released.<sup>34</sup> In Norfolk's defence, however, it must be taken into account that the dispute between the burgesses and the abbey was deeply entrenched – even a visit in person by Edward III in June 1331 failed to resolve the conflict, and according to Lobel's research the town was still in 'a very disturbed state' in 1334.<sup>35</sup> Additionally, the riots involved a large number of townspeople including both women and members of the secular clergy. Thirty cartloads of men and women were sent by the sheriff to the gaol in Norwich, and when the trial began in December 1327 over four hundred individuals stood accused.<sup>36</sup> It would clearly have been unfeasible to incarcerate so many men and women, and the fact that Norfolk was reprimanded for having released some of them should by no means be interpreted as evidence of incompetence or ineptitude.

On the surface, local and judicial appointments such as those outlined above may not appear to have held any great importance or prestigious significance, especially to an individual of Norfolk's status. And yet Norfolk's appointment to such commissions acted as a formal and public recognition of his position as the most powerful magnate in the East Anglian region. Furthermore, members of Norfolk's

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<sup>32</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 90.

<sup>33</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 213-214; 'Annales Paulini', 333-4.

<sup>34</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 233-4.

<sup>35</sup> M. D. Lobel, 'A Detailed Account of the 1327 Rising at Bury St. Edmund's and the Subsequent Trial', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 21 (1933), 230-1.

<sup>36</sup> According to the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey* 3,000 individuals took part in the initial riots in January 1327, though this is clearly an exaggeration: *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, 2 vols. (London, 1892), ii. 327-40; Lobel, 'Detailed Account', 224.



*familia* were usually appointed to serve with him, undoubtedly through his influence. Such commissions therefore presented an opportunity whereby he could further the prospects of his own retainers in the king's service, who might also be able to enrich themselves in the process by means of bribery and corruption.

By March 1327, the deposed king was in custody at Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire (where he was soon to die under dubious circumstances), his son was securely on the throne, and Isabella and Mortimer's most loyal supporters had been rewarded. The leaders of the new regime were therefore now able to turn their attention to other pressing matters – in particular, Scotland. On the night of Edward III's coronation, Robert Bruce's forces had led a raid on Norham Castle, and on 5 April Norfolk and the other magnates received a summons to attend a muster at Newcastle-upon-Tyne.<sup>37</sup> Kent received a very substantial advance of £1,000 for the wages of himself and his men, while Norfolk and Hereford were both given £200.<sup>38</sup> The king and his force departed from York on 1 July and proceeded slowly towards Durham, by which time the Scots had already crossed the border. It would appear that Norfolk had headed north in advance of the main English force, as on about 3 July he sent a letter to Edward III in which he said that he had been brought news that the Scots were at Appleby-in-Westmorland, Cumbria. He was clearly nearby, as he informed the king that he and his men had been on watch all night for further signs of the invaders, and would be on watch again that night. He added that he had ordered all empty buildings in the nearby countryside to be set alight in order to warn the local people, and asked for further instructions.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 118; *Foedera*, iii. 702.

<sup>38</sup> The wages of Norfolk and his men were paid in part from the customs of Ipswich: *CPR, 1327-1330*, 145; N. B. Lewis, 'The Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 5 April 1327', in Powicke and Sandquist (eds), *Essays*, 236-8.

<sup>39</sup> This letter is in fact unsigned, but it is clear that it was written by Norfolk as on 4 July the king wrote to his chancellor and treasurer and included a transcript of the letter, which he said was from his uncle the earl Marshal: *CDS*, iii. 167.



By 4 July, when Edward III received Norfolk's letter, parts of the army were already short of victuals – and this even before the host had reached Durham.<sup>40</sup> Matters did not improve, and from an English perspective the Weardale campaign of 1327 turned into a fiasco. Unlike the English, the Scots were unhindered by a chain of supply wagons and so were able to travel swiftly on horseback. Consequently, they were able to evade the English army and began to raid further to the south. It was therefore decided that the English cavalry should set off in pursuit with only limited supplies, and they eventually located the Scottish host at Stanhope Park. The two armies camped facing each other across the River Wear, but the Scots held a commanding position and Mortimer called a halt to the English advance. On the night of 4 August Douglas led a surprise Scottish raid across the river into the English camp, cutting the guy ropes of the tents and causing mayhem. On 6 August the Scots simply disappeared before dawn, leaving the half-starved English little choice but to return to Durham and their supply wagons.<sup>41</sup>

The fiasco of the Weardale campaign was clearly not the fault of Edward III, who was only fourteen years of age in the summer of 1327 and who was said to have cried in humiliation at the failure of his first expedition against the Scots.<sup>42</sup> So where did the blame lie? The chroniclers highlighted the role of Roger Mortimer, even though he did not hold an official position within the army, and accused him of collusion with the Scots. The account given by the *Brut* is particularly informative, and says that:

Mortymer counselede miche Thomas of Broþerton...þat the forsaide Thomas shulde nouȝt assemble at þat tyme vnto þe Scottes; and he assented; but he wiste nouȝt þe doying bituene þe Scottes and þe forsaide Mortymer. and for enchesoun þat he was Marchal of Engeland, and to him perteynede euer þe vauntward. he

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<sup>40</sup> CDS, iii. 167.

<sup>41</sup> *Scalachronica*, 79-82; *Bruce*, 710-41; *Brut*, 250-2; Haines, *King Edward II*, 277-9; Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 177-83.

<sup>42</sup> *Scalachronica*, 81-2.



sent hastely to þe Erl of Lancastre and to Sire Iohn of Henaude, þat þai shulde nouȝt feiȝt oppon þe Scottes, in preiudice and in harmyng of him and his fee, and if þai dede, þat þai shulde stande to her own peril. and þe forsaide Erl Marchal was al aredy wiþ his bataile at þe redose of þe Erl of Lancastre forto haue fouȝten wiþ him and wiþ his folc, if he had meuede forto feiȝt wiþ þe Scottes. and in þis maner he was desceyuede, and wiste no maner þinge of þis tresoun.<sup>43</sup>

The author of the *Brut*, then, absolved Norfolk of all blame for the failure of the Weardale campaign. In collusion with the Scots, Roger Mortimer had persuaded him through deceit and cunning to use his authority as earl Marshal to prevent Lancaster and John of Hainault from attacking the enemy. It must be taken into account, however, that the *Brut* is an avidly pro-Lancastrian chronicle. Taylor has gone so far as to suggest that not only is the *Brut* ‘written consistently from the Lancastrian point of view’, but also that no other chronicle ‘carries Lancastrian partisanship so far’.<sup>44</sup> Since the *Brut* was probably not compiled until after 1333, its author would have been well aware of Henry of Lancaster’s failed rebellion against the regime in 1328-29 and Mortimer’s execution for treason in 1330.<sup>45</sup> He therefore had little reason to portray Mortimer in a favourable light, and this account given by the *Brut* must be treated with caution. It should be noted that Lancaster and Kent had been given overall command of the English force at York in June 1327,<sup>46</sup> and it is also difficult to completely exonerate Norfolk. He was, after all, an experienced military campaigner, and with command of the vanguard he led an important section of the army. If the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable is to be believed, he would also have been jointly responsible with the earl of Hereford (constable of England) for setting and overseeing the watch, and this watch had clearly

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<sup>43</sup> *Brut*, 250-2.

<sup>44</sup> J. Taylor, ‘The French ‘*Brut*’ and the Reign of Edward II’, *EHR*, 72 (1957), 427-8.

<sup>45</sup> Taylor suggests that the longer version of the French prose *Brut* was written soon after its final entry in 1333, and that it was translated into English between 1350 and 1380: Taylor, ‘French ‘*Brut*’’, 427-8.

<sup>46</sup> *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londonensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi Asservati*, 2 vols. (London, 1814-19), i. 213, 215.



been inadequate on the night of 4 August, when Douglas had led his raid into the English camp.<sup>47</sup> There is some validity, therefore, in Ian Mortimer's suggestion that 'the blunder was most probably a failure of collective leadership'.<sup>48</sup>

Following the Weardale campaign Norfolk continued to be closely aligned with the regime, to the extent that he concluded a marriage alliance with Roger Mortimer. In a lavish double wedding at Hereford, Norfolk's only son Edward was married to Mortimer's daughter Beatrice, while at the same time another of Mortimer's daughters was married to the heir of John Hastings. There has been a considerable degree of confusion amongst historians concerning the date of this wedding, with Haines placing it in 1327, Fryde and Packe in 1328, and Ian Mortimer in 1329.<sup>49</sup> How can this confusion be resolved? Haines seems to have dated the wedding to 1327 due to a misreading of Murimuth's chronicle. Murimuth's chronology at this point in his narrative could certainly be more explicit, but he states that the marriage took place '*post dictum parliamentum Northamptoniae, cito post festum sanctae Trinitatis* [29 May]', and this reference to the Northampton parliament clearly dates the wedding to late May or early June 1328.<sup>50</sup> The same date is repeated by Baker (who may have been using Murimuth as his source), and also by the author of the Llandaff Chronicle, who was usually well informed regarding local events and matters relating to the Mortimer family.<sup>51</sup> In support of the 1328 date given by the chroniclers can also be cited the fact that on 12 May of that year, Roger Mortimer and Oliver Ingham acknowledged that they owed 2,000 marks to Norfolk, suggesting that he had loaned this amount to Mortimer to help pay for the event.<sup>52</sup> Ian Mortimer's argument that the wedding could

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<sup>47</sup> BL Cotton MS Nero D VI, fo. 85r-86r. See Appendix 4 for the transcript of this tract and a discussion of its date and reliability.

<sup>48</sup> Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 178.

<sup>49</sup> Haines, *King Edward II*, 200; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 207; Packe, *Edward III*, 41; Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 225, 297 n. 20, 294 n. 22, 323.

<sup>50</sup> *Adae Murimuth*, 57; Haines, *King Edward II*, 200.

<sup>51</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 42; BL Cotton MS Nero A IV, fo. 58v (thanks to Dr Dryburgh for bringing this latter chronicle to my attention and for giving his opinion as to its overall reliability).

<sup>52</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 386.



not have taken place in the summer of 1328 because Norfolk would not have deigned to marry his only son to one of Roger Mortimer's daughters before Mortimer himself had been created an earl, and that he would not have rebelled against the regime so soon after creating the marriage alliance, is simply not weighty enough to go against the evidence cited above. Allegiances could – and in this case did – change rapidly, and since Mortimer was clearly at the helm of government, it surely would not have mattered to Norfolk that he did not yet hold an earldom. The wedding can therefore be dated with some certainty to late May or early June 1328 and it was clearly an extravagant event, attended by the king and funded not only by the 2,000 marks probably loaned by Norfolk, but also by £1,000 given by the Bardi – a sum that Edward III agreed to repay himself in 1330.<sup>53</sup> From Mortimer's perspective it was an important alliance that linked him with the royal family, and on Norfolk's part it was an astute recognition of Mortimer's unofficial authority which (as shall be seen below) may have ultimately saved him from sharing Kent's fate in 1330.

By the time of the marriage alliance between Norfolk and Roger Mortimer, tensions within the realm were already increasing. On 4 May 1328 at the parliament of Northampton a peace treaty with the Scots had been ratified, which effectively ignored the claims of prominent Englishmen such as Henry Beaumont to Scottish lands.<sup>54</sup> Lancaster refused to be a party to this 'shameful peace', and relations between the earl and Mortimer rapidly deteriorated throughout the summer and autumn, with the result that the country was on the verge of civil war by the end of the year. The principal events of the rebellion and Lancaster's leading role are well understood,<sup>55</sup> but what part did Norfolk play, what were his reasons for becoming involved, and why did he then capitulate with such seeming ease in January 1329?

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<sup>53</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 502.

<sup>54</sup> E. L. G. Stones, 'The Treaty of Northampton, 1328', *History*, 38 (1953), 54-61.

<sup>55</sup> See particularly G. A. Holmes, 'The Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster, 1328-9', *BIHR*, 28 (1955), 84-9).



It would seem that Norfolk did not in fact become involved in the rebellion until a late stage. He maintained a low profile during the summer and early autumn of 1328, and it is difficult to precisely pinpoint his activities and whereabouts. Although Lancaster and a number of other magnates absented themselves from the council held at York between 31 July and 6 August, there is no evidence to suggest that Norfolk himself failed to attend.<sup>56</sup> On 26 September the mayor and aldermen of London wrote to Norfolk, Warenne and a number of prelates, asking them to intervene with the king to ensure that the next parliament (which had been summoned on 28 August following the failure of the York council) should meet at Westminster rather than at Salisbury.<sup>57</sup> This suggests that the citizens of London believed Norfolk to have some influence with the leaders of the regime at this time. Norfolk still seems to have been in favour at court on 8 October when the Edward III ordered the prior of Holy Trinity, Norwich, to pay him £100 out of the clerical aid of a tenth in compensation for his expenses in expediting certain of the king's affairs.<sup>58</sup>

When parliament commenced on 16 October at Salisbury (despite the protestations of the Londoners that it should be held at Westminster) Lancaster once again failed to attend, and instead he waited nearby at Winchester with an armed force. According to Baker, Norfolk also absented himself from this parliament and stayed at Winchester with Lancaster and his followers.<sup>59</sup> This seems unlikely, however, as Norfolk is not mentioned in association with Lancaster at this time in the royal version of events, as outlined in a letter sent by the king to the Londoners in December 1328 and in a manifesto of January 1329.<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, the Pauline Annalist (who is a more reliable source for Norfolk's activities than Baker) says that Norfolk and Lancaster fell

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<sup>56</sup> This council had been summoned on 15 June 1328: *CCR, 1327-1330*, 396.

<sup>57</sup> *CPMR*, 68.

<sup>58</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 327.

<sup>59</sup> *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 42-3.

<sup>60</sup> *CPMR*, 77-83; Haines, 'Rebellion', 88-9.



into dispute at this time following the murder of Robert Holland.<sup>61</sup> Holland had been one of Thomas of Lancaster's most trusted retainers, but had deserted him shortly prior to the battle of Boroughbridge in 1322, thereby contributing to Lancaster's defeat and execution. In retaliation for his disloyalty, Thomas Wyther (one of Henry of Lancaster's followers) killed and beheaded Holland on 15 October 1328 at Borehamwood in Hertfordshire.<sup>62</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that Holland was ever in Norfolk's service, and yet Norfolk does seem to have taken exception to his brutal murder, in which Henry of Lancaster was deeply implicated. Since Norfolk and Kent often acted in conjunction, it is also instructive to note that although Kent might have sympathized with Lancaster in October 1328, he was by no means in opposition to the regime at this time. Instead he attempted to mediate between the king's party and Lancaster - in a later letter sent to the Londoners, the king said that he had been persuaded by his mother Isabella and by Kent to issue Lancaster with a safe conduct to attend the Salisbury parliament, and that when this had failed to placate Lancaster, it was Kent who convinced the earl that he should retire from Winchester to his midland estates.<sup>63</sup>

This combined evidence strongly suggests that Norfolk was not in opposition to Isabella and Mortimer in October 1328. By December though, both he and Kent had committed themselves to the rebellion by issuing a letter to the prelates and magnates in which they criticized the king and called for a meeting to be held in London, where the affairs of the realm could be discussed.<sup>64</sup> Why had their allegiance changed at this time, and what were their grievances against Isabella and Mortimer? The timing of their change of allegiance after the Salisbury parliament implies that when Mortimer had himself created earl of March on about 30 October, he had taken a step too far in the

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<sup>61</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 342-4.

<sup>62</sup> *Brut*, 257; *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, i. 424; J. R. Maddicott, 'Thomas of Lancaster and Sir Robert Holland: A Study in Noble Patronage', *EHR*, 86 (1971), 467-70.

<sup>63</sup> *CPMR*, 72, 82. According to Fryde, Kent was still at court on 20 October 1328: Fryde, *Tyranny*, 221.

<sup>64</sup> BL Cotton MS Faustina B V, fo. 51v; 'Willelmi de Dene, Notarii Publici, Historia Roffensis ab Anno MCCCXIV ad MCCCL', in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton (London, 1691), 368-9.



direction of his own aggrandizement. Norfolk and Kent's letter further criticized the king for travelling with a large armed force, which was causing widespread devastation in violation of both *Magna Carta* and his coronation oath, and this was probably a reference to the fact that Mortimer had been gathering troops from his Marcher lordship in October and early December.<sup>65</sup> The two brothers also no doubt shared the primary grievances of Lancaster – that the king was unable to support himself financially (the implication being that this was caused by Isabella and Mortimer's appropriation of his revenues), and that the regency council established on the day of Edward III's coronation was not being consulted.<sup>66</sup>

In addition, both Norfolk and Kent must have been disappointed with the extent of the rewards that they had received from the leaders of the regime. The initial signs had been promising – they had both received forfeited lands as a result of their petition to the Westminster parliament of 1327, and had also been given local and judicial commissions. Nevertheless, given that the leaders of the regime had inherited from Edward II a treasury worth £61,921 4s. 9½d., the 1,000 marks and £1,400 granted to Norfolk and Kent respectively in March 1327 could hardly be termed generous.<sup>67</sup> Even the wardship of John Segrave, which had been granted to Norfolk on 3 March 1327, turned out to be worth much less than at first appeared, since both John Segrave's mother and grandmother were still alive and each claimed a third of the family estates by right of dower. On 24 September 1327 Norfolk had nominated three of his followers to represent him when these dower lands were assigned, and the following month he complained to the king that the wardship was not valuable enough to compensate him for his expenses following the invasion. He demanded compensation, but there is no

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<sup>65</sup> BL Cotton MS Faustina B V, fo. 51v; 'Willelmi de Dene', 368-9; Dryburgh, 'Career of Roger Mortimer', 130-1.

<sup>66</sup> For Lancaster's grievances, see: *CPMR*, 68, 77-83; *Brut*, 258-61.

<sup>67</sup> Fryde, *Tyranny*, 209.



evidence to suggest that restitution was ever made to him.<sup>68</sup> Kent fared only marginally better – he received some further lands previously held by the Despensers in early 1328, and there are more instances of his use of intercessionary patronage in this period, which suggests that he had greater influence than Norfolk with Isabella and Mortimer, but even so, examples of grants being made at Kent's request are far from frequent.<sup>69</sup> The brothers must have expected that greater rewards would be forthcoming, but they were to be disappointed. Instead of granting financial favours to the two royal uncles, Isabella and Mortimer became increasingly avaricious and depleted the royal treasury with astonishing speed.<sup>70</sup>

Despite the growing disaffection against Isabella and Mortimer, the response to Norfolk and Kent's letter of mid-December 1328 was not unanimous in its support. The author of the *Historia Roffensis* (who was probably the secular clerk, William Dene) tells us that the bishop of Rochester received this letter on 17 December, but that he pleaded illness as an excuse for non-attendance.<sup>71</sup> Nevertheless, according to the author of the *Annales Paulini* (who might plausibly have been an eyewitness to the following events) Simon Mepham, archbishop of Canterbury, arrived at St Paul's on 18 December and preached to the congregation there in support of the Lancastrian cause. It can be assumed that having organized the meeting, both Norfolk and Kent were already present, even though this is not specifically stated.<sup>72</sup> According to the research carried out by Holmes, Thomas Wake, William Trussel and Thomas Roscelyn (who were all prominent supporters of Lancaster) had arrived in London to join the gathering by 21

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<sup>68</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 179, 225.

<sup>69</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2. To compare Norfolk and Kent's use of intercessionary patronage during the regime of Isabella and Mortimer, see: *CCR, 1327-1330*, 193; *CFR, 1327-1330*, 67, 70, 92; *CPR, 1327-1330*, 225; *CChR, 1327-1341*, 190.

<sup>70</sup> Between November 1326 and March 1327 the treasury had been reduced from over £60,000 to £12,000. Many of the royal reserves had initially gone to Isabella, and one of Mortimer's biographers has noted that he also became increasingly acquisitive: Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 228; Fryde, *Tyranny*, 209.

<sup>71</sup> BL Cotton MS Faustina B V, fo. 51v-52r; 'Willelmi de Dene', 368-9. For the authorship of the *Historia Roffensis* and its historical value, see R. M. Haines, 'Bishops and Politics in the Reign of Edward II: Hamo de Hethe, Henry Wharton, and the 'Historia Roffensis'', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 44 (1993), 586-609.

<sup>72</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 343-4.



December at the latest, and the bishop of Winchester also certainly attended.<sup>73</sup> On 23 December the archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the king, saying that ‘it was now common knowledge that the King had been advised to advance in force against certain peers and others of the land’, and asking him to resist the use of force until parliament had been given an opportunity to resolve the matter. This attempt to pacify the situation failed, and Edward III responded with a proclamation on 29 December that he intended to advance in force upon Lancaster’s lands in Warwickshire and Leicestershire, but that he would grant a full pardon to all rebels (with the exceptions of Henry Beaumont, Thomas Roscelyn, Thomas Wyther and William Trussel) who submitted to him by 7 January 1329.<sup>74</sup> News of this proclamation no doubt found its way to Lancaster, who did not attend the St Paul’s gathering until 1 January, on which day he went to the nearby house of the Dominicans where he and Norfolk were reconciled over the murder of Robert Holland. The following day the rebels met again at St Paul’s to determine their grievances, and swore an oath to uphold their demands against the regime. Norfolk and Kent, together with the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, were nominated to take these demands to the king and to attempt to negotiate a peaceful settlement.<sup>75</sup>

At this point the accounts of the chroniclers diverge. It is clear that Isabella, Mortimer and Edward III were true to their word and began to ravage Lancaster’s lands in the midlands, while Norfolk, Kent, Mepham and Gravesend travelled north to negotiate with the royal party. Instead of negotiating, however, they seem to have quickly capitulated to the king. According to William Dene, Simon Mepham rode ahead of his three companions and was the first to submit to Edward III, leaving Norfolk and Kent little choice but to do the same.<sup>76</sup> By contrast, the pro-Lancastrian chronicler

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<sup>73</sup> Holmes, ‘Rebellion of the Earl of Lancaster’, 84-9.

<sup>74</sup> *CPMR*, 84, 85-6.

<sup>75</sup> ‘Annales Paulini’, 343-4.

<sup>76</sup> BL Cotton MS Faustina B V, fo. 52v.



Knighton (who probably did not begin to compile this section of his history until the late fourteenth century), says that Norfolk and Kent not only capitulated to the king but also that they accused Lancaster of sedition, and he apportions to them full blame for the failure of the rebellion.<sup>77</sup> The pro-Lancastrian *Brut* describes Norfolk and Kent as mediators – ‘þai ryden so in message bituene ham, þat þe king grantede him his pees to þe Erl Henry of Lancastre for a certeyn raunson’.<sup>78</sup> The full circumstances behind Norfolk and Kent’s submission will probably never be known, but the author of the *Scalachronica* may have been closest to the truth in suggesting that the ravaging of Lancaster’s lands in early January had demonstrated the strength of the royal party, and had convinced the royal earls that they were fighting a losing battle.<sup>79</sup>

By capitulating to Isabella, Mortimer and Edward III, Norfolk and Kent escaped the heavy fines that were meted out to Lancaster and his adherents as a condition of their surrender.<sup>80</sup> Nevertheless, Waugh has suggested that both Norfolk and Kent fell from favour at court as a result of their involvement in the Lancastrian rebellion.<sup>81</sup> Norfolk did not witness any royal charters during the first half of 1329, and Waugh’s suggestion may well be an accurate analysis. In June 1329, however, Norfolk was among those who accompanied Edward III to Amiens to pay homage to Philip VI of France, and by the end of July he was once again acting as a witness to royal deeds, if not with great frequency.<sup>82</sup> As a senior member of the royal family, public demonstrations of Norfolk’s solidarity with the regime were still useful to Isabella and Mortimer. This was demonstrated not only at Amiens in June 1329, but also at the coronation of Queen Philippa in February 1330, at which event Norfolk and Kent were given a ceremonial role that was highly visible to the public. The author of the *Annales*

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<sup>77</sup> *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, i. 450-1; Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, 42

<sup>78</sup> *Brut*, 258-61.

<sup>79</sup> *Scalachronica*, 84.

<sup>80</sup> Lancaster was forced to enter into a recognisance of £30,000, and his followers made similar deals. Beaumont, Roscelyn, Trussel and Wyther were forced to flee overseas when orders for their arrest were issued on 18 January 1327: *CCR, 1327-1330*, 425, 528-30.

<sup>81</sup> *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7; *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2.

<sup>82</sup> TNA C53/116, m. 6, 8, 9, 16; Packe, *Edward III*, 43-4.



*Paulini* describes how the two brothers escorted Philippa through the streets of London to Westminster Abbey dressed as simple grooms.<sup>83</sup> Packe has written that ‘such simple charades were not uncommon in the fourteenth century, displaying a gracious condescension in the great, and at the same time their healthy confidence in their own inviolability’.<sup>84</sup>

Any sense of inviolability that the earl of Kent might have held was to be shattered only a month after Queen Philippa’s coronation, when at the Winchester parliament (which commenced on 1 March 1330) he was arrested for treason. The ‘Kent Conspiracy’ is one of the strangest episodes in English history. As such, its details are widely known and only a brief account need be repeated here. In essence, despite the public nature of Edward II’s funeral at Gloucester in December 1327, Kent had become convinced that his half-brother was still alive and being secretly held in custody at Corfe Castle in Dorset. Having unsuccessfully attempted to gain access to Edward II, he had entrusted the castle officials with letters to be passed on to the deposed monarch. These letters found their way into the hands of Roger Mortimer (who before his own death confessed to having tricked the earl into believing the entire charade – a confession that Dryburgh finds convincing, since several of Mortimer’s agents were in charge of the castle at the relevant time).<sup>85</sup> When Mortimer produced these letters in the Winchester parliament, Kent made a full confession and he was summarily found guilty of treason and executed on 19 March.<sup>86</sup>

It is difficult to believe that Norfolk knew nothing of his brother’s attempts to free Edward II from Corfe Castle. Not only had they grown up together, they had also acted in close political conjunction – particularly in the summer of 1326 and the winter of 1328-29. Furthermore, Kent had been far from discreet about his activities. His wife

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<sup>83</sup> ‘*Annales Paulini*’, 353-4.

<sup>84</sup> Packe, *Edward III*, 44-5.

<sup>85</sup> Dryburgh, ‘Career of Roger Mortimer’, 145-7.

<sup>86</sup> For further details of the ‘Kent Conspiracy’, see: *Murimuth*, 253-6; *Brut*, 263; *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 43-4; *Anonimale*, 142-3; *Chronicle of Lanercost*, 264-5.



had written one of the incriminating letters, and he also claimed to have gained the support of the pope and the archbishop of York. He further incriminated a considerable number of magnates as having been complicit in the plot, and the arrests of these individuals were ordered throughout March 1330.<sup>87</sup> There are two explanations as to why Norfolk himself escaped implication. Firstly, Kent would have been highly reluctant to bring the loyalty of his brother into question, no matter who else he was forced to name as his adherents. Secondly, it was not in Mortimer's own interests for Norfolk to be associated with the conspiracy. If found guilty of treason, Norfolk's lands would have been forfeited and his son (now married to Mortimer's daughter Beatrice) would have been disinherited. The marriage alliance created by Norfolk with Roger Mortimer in 1328 may well have spared his life in 1330.

Following the execution of Kent, Norfolk was sent to Gascony on the king's service, and on 16 April he nominated attorneys to act on his behalf until Christmas.<sup>88</sup> It is plausible to suggest that Mortimer arranged this expedition abroad, fearing reprisals over his role in Kent's death. In the event, Norfolk could not have remained overseas for long, as on 5 June he was summoned to attend a colloquium to be held at Osney Abbey in Oxfordshire on 9 July, and on 22 July he witnessed a royal charter at Woodstock in Oxfordshire, where a week earlier Edward III's first son had been born.<sup>89</sup> It is possible, of course, that he did not depart for Gascony until late July or early August, but this would seem unlikely, and he was certainly in England in early September. On 11 September a grant was made at Norfolk's request to Nicholas Bonde of free warren on his Suffolk manors, and several days earlier Norfolk had been

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<sup>87</sup> *CFR*, 1327-1337, 168-70.

<sup>88</sup> *CPR*, 1327-1330, 508.

<sup>89</sup> *CCR*, 1330-1333, 141; TNA C53/117, m. 24. For the birth of Edward of Woodstock, the 'Black Prince', see *Anonimalle*, 142-3.



summoned to a colloquium to be held at Nottingham on 15 October, where Mortimer was to meet his fate.<sup>90</sup>

There is no extant evidence to show that Norfolk was told in advance about the Nottingham coup, whereby Edward III and a small group of companions secretly entered Nottingham Castle on 19 October and forcibly arrested Roger Mortimer. Nevertheless, the possibility that he had at least heard rumours about the plot should not be entirely discounted. Mortimer himself had heard stories of the conspiracy and had interviewed various members of Edward III's household in the days preceding the coup. Furthermore, although Norfolk himself was not personally involved in the event, one of his retainers – Sir Robert Ufford – played a prominent role.<sup>91</sup>

Both Ormrod and Bothwell have pointed out that Edward III was in a precarious situation following the Nottingham coup of 1330, which effectively marked the beginning of his personal rule. Ormrod has noted that the dissent and violence evident within aristocratic society throughout the reign of Edward II had 'left a deep and lasting impression on political society', while Bothwell has remarked that after the downfall of Isabella and Mortimer, Edward III 'was faced with a situation which would have unnerved the most experienced of leaders, let alone the eighteen-year-old son of a deposed king'.<sup>92</sup> Edward III needed to win back the support of the nobility for the Crown, and therefore Lancaster and his adherents of the 1328-29 rebellion were pardoned their fines, those who had been implicated in the Kent Conspiracy in 1330 were allowed to return from exile and the earl's son was restored to his inheritance, as was the heir to the earldom of Arundel, which had been forfeited in 1326.<sup>93</sup> Similarly, the personal rule of Edward III also began positively for Norfolk. On 23 October he and

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<sup>90</sup> *CChR*, 1327-1341, 190; *CCR*, 1330-1333, 153.

<sup>91</sup> C. Shenton, 'Edward III and the coup of 1330', in Bothwell (ed.), *Age of Edward III*, 13-34; Mortimer, *Greatest Traitor*, 236-9.

<sup>92</sup> Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, 12; J. S. Bothwell, 'Edward III and the 'New Nobility': Largesse and Limitation in Fourteenth-Century England', *EHR*, 112 (1997), 1111. See also W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III and His Family', *Journal of British Studies*, 26 (1987), 400-1.

<sup>93</sup> Bothwell, *Edward III*, 5-6.



the other magnates were summoned to attend parliament at Westminster the following month, and two days later the king granted to him the keeping of the manor of Fundenhall in Norfolk and rent worth £7 15s. per annum from Helmingham.<sup>94</sup> This manor and rent had belonged to the recently deceased Robert Thorp, but there had been a dispute as to whether they were held in chief from the king or from Norfolk. Edward III therefore favoured Norfolk by allowing him the profits from the lands until a second inquisition could be held to resolve the dispute.<sup>95</sup> When the Westminster parliament commenced the following month on 26 November, Norfolk was entrusted with the task of carrying out Mortimer's execution for treason, and the mayor, sheriff and aldermen of London and the constable of the Tower were ordered to assist him in this matter. Mortimer's execution duly took place at Tyburn on 29 November, an event from which Norfolk may well have gleaned a degree of satisfaction given that Mortimer had been responsible for the execution of his brother Kent, and had probably also instigated the murder of his half-brother Edward II at Berkeley Castle in 1327.<sup>96</sup>

In some respects this positive role continued throughout the 1330s. Norfolk regularly witnessed royal charters during the remainder of 1330 and 1331, and of course he received summonses to all assemblies and parliaments until his death in 1338.<sup>97</sup> In June 1331 he fought alongside the king at the Stepney tournament, which was proclaimed by his long-serving retainer, Robert Morley.<sup>98</sup> Norfolk also continued to receive a variety of royal commissions during the 1330s, which had been so unforthcoming during the reign of Edward II. On 23 January 1331, for example, he was assigned together with the bishop of London, Thomas Wake, Geoffrey Scrope and other justices of the king's bench, to annul a fine which had been levied under duress from

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<sup>94</sup> *CCR, 1330-1333*, 160.

<sup>95</sup> The second inquisition found in favour of Norfolk and he therefore retained the manor and rent: *CFR, 1327-1337*, 196, 207, 233-4.

<sup>96</sup> *Parliament Rolls*, iv. 103-6; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 53, 256.

<sup>97</sup> TNA C53/117; TNA C53/118.

<sup>98</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 353-4.



John Crumbwell by the Despensers during the previous reign.<sup>99</sup> On 30 September 1331 he was appointed to take part in a prestigious embassy sent to negotiate with Philip VI of France regarding the return of Agenais. His fellow commissioners on this diplomatic mission included the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and Worcester, the earl of Warenne, Henry Beaumont, Henry Percy, Hugh Courtenay and Geoffrey Scrope. Norfolk's inclusion on this embassy was a recognition of his position as the most senior member of the English royal family at this time, and may also have owed something to the fact that he was a cousin of Philip VI (see Figure 1).<sup>100</sup> The following October, Norfolk received another commission together with the bishop of Worcester, Geoffrey Scrope and Thomas Berkeley to annul a fine of £100 which John Wroxale had been forced to make to Despenser the elder.<sup>101</sup> In February and March 1332 Norfolk was appointed as keeper of the peace in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk together with a number of his followers, and the very last appointment recorded as having been given to Norfolk before his death in 1338 was similarly to act as an overseer of the keepers of the peace in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire.<sup>102</sup>

Norfolk was also militarily active throughout the 1330s. There is no evidence to suggest that he was involved in the Scottish campaign of the 'disinherited' led by Edward Balliol in 1332, which might have been expected given that Balliol had been resident in Norfolk's childhood household and that there were prospects for reward if the expedition were to prove successful, but of course Norfolk did not lay claim to any Scottish lands, and the campaign did not have the full support of the king.<sup>103</sup> Nevertheless, the following year he did take part in Edward III's Scottish expedition, and he commanded a division of the army at the battle of Halidon Hill on 19 July 1333,

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<sup>99</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 63.

<sup>100</sup> *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 61; *Parliament Rolls*, iv. 155-6.

<sup>101</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 202.

<sup>102</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 250, 285-7, 292-3; *CPR, 1338-1340*, 141.

<sup>103</sup> R. Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots: The Formative Years of a Military Career 1327-1335* (Oxford, 1965), 75.



where the English won a resounding victory.<sup>104</sup> He also took part in the Scottish campaign of 1335, to which he and the other magnates had been summoned on 27 March.<sup>105</sup> In both 1335 and 1336 he was appointed by the king as chief captain and commissioner of the array in a swathe of south-eastern counties (Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Berkshire and Essex), and in the same years he was involved in raising men from his Marcher lordship of Chepstow in defence of the realm.<sup>106</sup> He spent much of 1337 in Scotland on the king's service, and on 20 December 1337 he was appointed keeper of Perth.<sup>107</sup> As Waugh has suggested, 'Edward [III] showed his confidence in his uncle' by repeatedly calling on his services in both the localities and in Scotland, and by consulting him in colloquiums concerning the defence of the kingdom.<sup>108</sup>

There can be little doubt, however, that Given-Wilson and Fryde are correct to suggest that Norfolk lacked significant favour during much of the 1330s. There is no evidence to suggest that he was a regular attendant at court or amongst the king's most favoured companions – indeed he largely ceased to witness royal charters between 1332 (by which time Edward III was more securely on the throne) and 1337 (when the king once more needed the support of all of his magnates for the war against France). Furthermore, Norfolk received no financial grants or favours during the personal rule of Edward III, and in fact lost the lands that he had been granted by Isabella and Mortimer in March 1327. On 5 August 1332 Norfolk surrendered these lands to the king, who then granted them to William Bohun, on condition that he pay £800 per annum to Norfolk for the remainder of his life. In 1336 Norfolk further surrendered his right to

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<sup>104</sup> *CCR, 1333-1337*, 99; *Foedera*, iii. 296-7; Nicholson, *Edward III and the Scots*, 132-3.

<sup>105</sup> *Rotulie Scotiae*, i. 332.

<sup>106</sup> *Rotulie Scotiae*, i. 366, 373-4, 382, 430-1, 433, 447.

<sup>107</sup> *CCR, 1337-1339*, 159, 243, 281; *CFR, 1337-1347*, 47, 51; *Rotulie Scotiae*, i. 516.

<sup>108</sup> *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.



the £800 revenue from the lands.<sup>109</sup> His reasons for making these surrenders are difficult to explain and are discussed in greater detail below,<sup>110</sup> but it is tempting to agree with Waugh that he was taken advantage of by the king (who after all needed lands with which to pursue his patronage policy), and to interpret the fact that Norfolk lost the very lands with which he had been rewarded in 1327 as evidence of his lack of favour with Edward III.<sup>111</sup>

The precise reasons for Norfolk's lack of favour under Edward III are difficult to determine. There may be some truth to the suggestion that there was never a great deal of affection between uncle and nephew. Although Edward III typically referred to Norfolk in official correspondence as his 'dearest uncle, beloved and loyal', such greetings were highly formulaic and cannot be interpreted as evidence of genuine fondness.<sup>112</sup> Kent does seem to have been the more popular of the two brothers throughout the 1320s, and Norfolk appears to have been incapable of ingratiating himself with those in power to the same extent. He could also certainly be avaricious (as his plundering of Despenser the younger's estates in October 1326 attests), and it has also been noted that he was excommunicated for violence against one of the bishop of Winchester's clerks in 1321.<sup>113</sup> That Norfolk had a violent temperament is further evidenced by the chronicler Jean le Bel, who described him as being '*moult sauvage et desguisée maniere*'. In contrast, the same chronicler described Kent as '*proeudons, doux et debonnaire et bien amé de bonnes gens*'.<sup>114</sup> Jean le Bel does not elaborate upon his reasons for describing Norfolk so unfavourably, but his assessment cannot easily be dismissed. He was a direct contemporary of Norfolk, and as a follower of John of

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<sup>109</sup> TNA DL10/266; TNA DL10/267; TNA DL10/276; CCR, 1330-1333, 587; CFR, 1327-1337, 323-4; CPR, 1330-1334, 330, 333, 335; CPR, 1334-1338, 236.

<sup>110</sup> See below, 172-3.

<sup>111</sup> Oxford DNB, liv. 275-7.

<sup>112</sup> To take a typical example, when summoning Norfolk to attend a muster at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1333, the king addressed himself to '*dilecto et fideli suo, Thomae comiti Norff*' et marescallo Angl', *avunculo suo carissimo*': Foedera, iii. 855.

<sup>113</sup> See above, 78.

<sup>114</sup> Chronique de Jean le Bel, i. 6.



Hainault he had taken part in both Isabella and Mortimer's invasion of 1326 and the Weardale campaign of 1327, and he may well therefore have come into direct contact with the earl.<sup>115</sup>

A number of Norfolk's actions during the 1330s also incurred Edward III's displeasure. On 15 October 1331, for example, the king wrote to Norfolk and his other subjects who held Irish lordships, vehemently complaining that they were not doing enough to defend their lands against the king's enemies there. Edward III further warned Norfolk that his lordship of Carlow would forfeit to the Crown if the king himself were forced to travel to Ireland and oust the rebels from his lands.<sup>116</sup> In 1337 two much more serious disputes arose between Norfolk and the king. In March of that year, Norfolk was summoned to appear before the king and his council 'on account of complaints of oppressions of the people of those parts where [Norfolk's] household stayed due to lack of discreet rule and good array thereof'. As a result, Norfolk was forced to agree to the appointment of Constantine Mortimer (an East Anglian landowner and royal servant) to survey his household and to make any changes he should see fit – including, if necessary, the removal of his officials and servants.<sup>117</sup> Norfolk was by no means the only noble to allow his household to cause oppressions in the neighbouring countryside by taking provisions and paying little or nothing in return for them – the chroniclers commented that his brother, Kent, was unpopular among the people for this exact same reason.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, it was unusual for a magnate to be called to answer such charges before the king, and Edward III clearly took Norfolk's transgression seriously. Ormrod has noted that during the 1330s the commons complained on a number of occasions in parliament about the conduct of the king's noblemen, in particular their protection of criminals from prosecution through bribery, and their

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<sup>115</sup> *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, i. i-v.

<sup>116</sup> TNA C54/151, m. 12d, calendared in *CCR, 1330-1333*, 400. Also see below, 194-5.

<sup>117</sup> *CPR, 1334-1338*, 426, 434. Also see below, 152-3, 162.

<sup>118</sup> *Adae Murimuth*, 60; *Chronicon Galfridi Le Baker*, 44.



indiscriminate plundering in the localities, and that Edward III 'was acute enough to realize that such behaviour reflected badly on the crown, and quickly tried to improve the reputation of his nobles'.<sup>119</sup> Consequently, in the Westminster parliament of October 1331 Edward III had persuaded his magnates to agree not to seize purveyances, and in 1334 he had ordered a number of commissions to investigate the abuse of prises by his nobility.<sup>120</sup> The fact that Norfolk had so clearly contravened the king's wishes may explain why Edward III took such exception to the misrule of his household in 1337.

Only two months after Norfolk had been reprimanded over the conduct of his household, the king confiscated the office of the marshalship of England from him.<sup>121</sup> The reason for the confiscation was not specified, and Cokayne suggested that it might have been in connection with the charges of oppression made against his *hospicium*.<sup>122</sup> It is far more likely, however, that the confiscation resulted from some contravention of Norfolk's duties as marshal of England, such as the failure to appoint sufficient or competent officials. Whatever the cause, Edward III once again took the matter seriously. When Edward II had temporarily confiscated the marshalship from Norfolk in 1323 it had quickly been restored and with seemingly little disruption.<sup>123</sup> In 1337 though, Edward III went much further by actively replacing officials within the department of the marshalsea who had been appointed by Norfolk. On 20 June he replaced Norfolk's deputy marshal within the king's household, appointing John Leukenore in his place.<sup>124</sup> Ambrose of Newbury (who had acted as Norfolk's clerk marshal of the exchequer since April 1316), was replaced at this time by John Broke,

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<sup>119</sup> Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, 98.

<sup>120</sup> *Parliament Rolls*, iv. 158; Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, 98-9.

<sup>121</sup> The marshalship was confiscated on 25 May 1337: *CCR, 1337-1339*, 29.

<sup>122</sup> G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, ed. Vicary Gibbs et al., 13 vols. (London, 1910-17), ix. 596-601.

<sup>123</sup> See above, 90.

<sup>124</sup> *CCR, 1337-1339*, 29.



and an undated petition suggests that Walter Mauny (appointed by Norfolk as serjeant of the king's marshalsea in 1331) was also ousted from his position in 1337.<sup>125</sup>

Despite these disputes between Norfolk and the king during the 1330s, Edward III's disapproval of Norfolk should not be exaggerated. Norfolk does appear to have allowed his household and officials something of a free reign, and he could also be violent and occasionally abused his power and authority, but did this really make him so different from the majority of Edward III's other magnates? It must be taken into account that there is equally good evidence – to be discussed in greater detail below – to suggest that that Norfolk was a good lord, both to his retainers and to his tenants. Although he was briefly excommunicated, for the majority of his life he displayed a conventional piety and he was by no means incapable of acts of charity and kindness.<sup>126</sup> When assessing the reasons for the lack of favour shown to Norfolk during the 1330s, therefore, Edward III's style of kingship also needs to be taken into account. Although Edward III was undoubtedly more generous towards his nobility than his grandfather Edward I, and more circumspect in the bestowal of his favour than Edward II, it is nevertheless becoming increasingly clear that he was not as even-handed in his generosity as was once thought. In 1990 Ormrod argued that 'Edward's tendency to create political factions among the nobility by promoting a small group of personal friends' had not been sufficiently recognized by historians, and he further suggested that there was a 'considerable social and political gulf between favourites like William Montagu, Robert Ufford and William Clinton, and the established aristocracy led by the royal Earls of Norfolk and Lancaster'.<sup>127</sup> More recently, Bothwell's detailed study of Edward III's patronage policy and programme of peerage endowment has done much to

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<sup>125</sup> *Officers of the Exchequer*, ed. J. C. Sainty (London, 1983), 152-3; TNA SC8/63/3125; *CPR*, 1330-1334, 179. There is no official record of the marshalship being restored to Norfolk before his death, and yet it seems probable that he did regain the office since at least two of his officials had been restored to their positions by April 1338, and he was referred to as the earl Marshal at the time of his death: *CPR*, 1338-1340, 55, 57; *CFR*, 1337-1347, 90-1.

<sup>126</sup> See below, 163-4, 183-4, 198-9, 202-3.

<sup>127</sup> Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, 12, 107.



confirm the views expressed by Ormrod – indeed Bothwell has concluded that ‘Edward’s use of material favour had a considerable bias towards his ‘new men’, as substantial as that towards any group of previous favourites’.<sup>128</sup> Norfolk was one of very few earls to have survived both the reign of Edward II and the regime of Mortimer and Isabella, and Edward III demonstrated a willingness to use his uncle’s expertise in military matters and on local or judicial commissions – these favours cost the king nothing. Political influence at the helm of government, however, was reserved for Edward III’s most favoured companions, and material favours went not to Norfolk or to other members of the established aristocracy, but to his ‘new nobility’. Norfolk’s lack of political and material favour during the personal rule of Edward III does much to corroborate the arguments put forward by both Ormrod and Bothwell, and should certainly be viewed in the context of this recent research.

There is evidence to suggest that Norfolk attempted to regain the favour of his nephew by retaining or creating alliances with some of the king’s closest companions and courtiers. In 1333, for instance, he instigated a marriage alliance with William Montague whereby his daughter Alice was betrothed to Montague’s brother, Edward. The details of this marriage alliance are further discussed below, but it should be noted here that William Montague was one of the king’s most trusted companions, who had taken part in the Nottingham coup and who was handsomely rewarded for his loyalty during the 1330s. The author of the *Scalachronica* particularly noted that at the beginning of his personal rule ‘the King acted upon the advice of William de Montacute’, and Norfolk’s eagerness to create an alliance with him demonstrates a degree of political astuteness.<sup>129</sup> Another of the king’s favourites who found patronage under Norfolk in the 1330s was Sir Walter Mauny, who originated from Hainault and

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<sup>128</sup> Bothwell, *Edward III*, 133.

<sup>129</sup> *Scalachronica*, 87. For a summary of Montague’s career and the favour shown to him by Edward III, see in particular Bothwell, *Edward III*, 22-4. The marriage alliance between Norfolk and Montague is discussed in greater detail below, 141-3.



who had arrived in England in late 1327 as a page in Queen Philippa's retinue. By 1328 he had come to the notice of Edward III and served as a yeoman and esquire in the king's household, before being knighted at the king's command in 1331. Walter Mauny was an individual on the rise in the king's service, and on 1 April 1331 Norfolk granted to him 35 marks a year from the sum that he received annually from the county of Norfolk, at the king's request. Later that year, Norfolk further granted to him the office of the serjeanty of the marshalsea to hold for the term of his life.<sup>130</sup> In addition to these associations, Norfolk also retained several of the king's lesser-known household members during the 1330s – a practice not notable in his recruitment of followers during the previous reign, which suggests that he hoped to use this method to regain Edward III's approval. On 26 November 1335, for example, he appointed one of the king's yeomen, Adam of Ashurst, to act as his clerk marshal within the king's household, and in May 1337 he retained another of Edward III's yeomen, Thomas Pabenham, to serve as his own yeoman-at-arms.<sup>131</sup>

Bothwell has interpreted Norfolk's patronage of Walter Mauny as evidence for the general acceptance by the established aristocracy (and in particular by members of the royal family) of Edward III's 'new men'. In fact he has expressed some surprise at the lack of negative feeling against the new nobility, given the extent of the king's policy of peerage endowment and that 'such a level of acceptance was in many ways without precedent for newly promoted supporters of the king'.<sup>132</sup> In attempting to answer why there was not more opposition from the established nobility, he has cited Edward III's use of propaganda to demonstrate the competence of the men he favoured, and has also argued that the king was circumspect in advancing men with a long history of loyal service to the Crown (in some cases going back to the early 1320s), to whom

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<sup>130</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 96, 179; Bothwell, *Edward III*, 22.

<sup>131</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 55; *CPR, 1334-1338*, 467

<sup>132</sup> Bothwell, *Edward III*, 133 n. 155, 136-7; Bothwell, 'Edward III and the 'New Nobility'', 1126.



few could legitimately object.<sup>133</sup> It is important to note within the context of this recent study by Bothwell and in support of his thesis, that although Norfolk may well have been dissatisfied with the amount of favour he himself was receiving, he had little reason to oppose many of the king's promotions. Of particular significance is his relationship to the six men who were granted earldoms by Edward III in 1337. Of these individuals, two were close kinsmen of Norfolk – William Bohun, created earl of Northampton in 1337, was his nephew (see Figure 1), and Henry of Grosmont, who received the earldom of Derby, was the son of Norfolk's cousin, Henry of Lancaster. Of the other men given earldoms at this time, Norfolk's marriage alliance with William Montague, now earl of Salisbury, has already been discussed, and Robert Ufford, who was created earl of Suffolk, served as one of Norfolk's retainers.<sup>134</sup> Only William Clinton, earl of Huntingdon, and James Audley, earl of Gloucester, had no discernable close ties with Norfolk.

Norfolk's attempts to regain the favour of Edward III did not succeed. In no way is his political decline made more apparent than in the fact that it is unknown precisely when, where or how he died. None of the chroniclers thought the death of the second son of Edward I worthy of mention, in stark contrast to the amount of information given about the circumstances surrounding his birth. This might be comprehensible if Norfolk had accompanied Edward III on his expedition to the Low Countries and had died while abroad. Knighton does name him as one of the earls who accompanied Edward III when his army set sail on 7 July 1338, but it would appear that Knighton must have been mistaken – the confusion perhaps arising from the fact that the army had departed from Norfolk's manor of Walton in Suffolk.<sup>135</sup> That Norfolk remained in England is suggested by the fact that on 1 August 1338 he received a commission to oversee the

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<sup>133</sup> Bothwell, *Edward III*, 136-7, 152-3; Bothwell, 'Edward III and the 'New Nobility'', 1127-34; J. S. Bothwell, 'Edward III, The English Peerage, and the 1337 Earls: Estate Redistribution in Fourteenth-Century England', in Bothwell (ed.), *Age of Edward III*, 40-43.

<sup>134</sup> Robert Ufford is mentioned further below, 142, 156-7, 159, 165.

<sup>135</sup> *Chronicon Henrici Knighton*, ii. 4.



men appointed to keep the peace in the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, and on 4 August he was certainly at Framlingham, where he made a brief will in which he left all of his belongings to his wife.<sup>136</sup>

Norfolk might also have expected to be buried in Westminster Abbey alongside his royal relations. His brother Kent had originally been buried at Winchester where he had been executed, but when Edward III posthumously pardoned him following the downfall of Roger Mortimer his body was transferred to Westminster in 1331.<sup>137</sup> Norfolk was not granted the same courtesy by his nephew and was laid to rest in the choir of Bury St Edmund's Abbey. Edward III did subsequently pardon Norfolk's second wife Mary of part of a debt amounting to £120 in consideration of her expenses in arranging his funeral – money that was perhaps spent on the monument erected over his resting place, which was destroyed following the dissolution of the monasteries.<sup>138</sup>

The only fact that can be stated with any certainty in relation to Norfolk's death is that he died at some point during August 1338. He was clearly still alive on 4 August when he made his will, but had died by 25 August when Edward III ordered his officials to take into the king's hands the lands late of the earl of Norfolk.<sup>139</sup> On 26 August the king appointed four men (one of whom, Henry Valoignes, had been Norfolk's steward) to administrate the earl's lands, and on 30 September he granted the marshalship of England to the earl of Salisbury since Norfolk had died without a male heir.<sup>140</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that Norfolk may have been suffering from an ongoing illness during the six months or more before he died. The fact that he made a will shortly before his death implies that he died due to an illness rather than a sudden accident. A long-term illness might also explain why Norfolk had returned to England from Scotland in January 1338, so soon after having been appointed warden of Perth,

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<sup>136</sup> BL Cotton MS Julius C VII, fo. 174r; *CPR*, 1338-1340, 141.

<sup>137</sup> *Oxford DNB*, xvii. 760-2.

<sup>138</sup> *CCR*, 1337-1339, 504; *CCR*, 1339-1341, 18; *CPR*, 1338-1340, 542; *DNB*, liv. 152-3.

<sup>139</sup> *CPR*, 1338-1340, 141; *CFR*, 1337-1347, 90-1.

<sup>140</sup> *CFR*, 1337-1347, 91; *Foedera*, iii. 1060.



and why he did not accompany the king on his expedition to the Low Countries in the summer of 1338.<sup>141</sup> Furthermore, during the first half of 1338 a significant number of individuals sought confirmation from the king of grants that Norfolk had previously made to them, in some cases over a decade earlier. John Fourneux, Adam of Ashurst, Ambrose of Newbury, Robert Morley and his wife Joan, and John Wyght all presented their charters to Edward III and received royal confirmation of the various grants that Norfolk had made to them.<sup>142</sup> This number of individuals seeking to substantiate Norfolk's deeds – especially over such a short period of time – is highly unusual. The most likely explanation may be that these men knew Norfolk to be ill and were keen to obtain verification of his deeds while he was still alive and could, if necessary, testify that they were made with his willingness. It may also be significant that during in the first six months of 1338 Norfolk entered into two jointure transactions with wife. On 12 May 1338 Norfolk surrendered his manors of Framlingham and Walton in Suffolk to the king, who then regranted them to Norfolk and Mary to hold jointly for the term of their lives with reversion to the heirs of Norfolk's body.<sup>143</sup> The following month Norfolk further surrendered the lordship of Chepstow to the king, which was similarly regranted to the earl and Mary to hold in jointure.<sup>144</sup> Norfolk had previously used jointure with his first wife Alice during the 1320s, but those created in 1338 were much more extensive and involved some of his most valuable land holdings. It is plausible to suggest that, knowing himself to be gravely ill, Norfolk utilized the jointure to control what would happen to his estates after his death, thereby providing financial security for his second wife and ensuring that if any son were born to him posthumously, then not all of this child's inheritance would be taken in wardship.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> Norfolk was appointed warden of Perth, on 20 December 1337, but had informed the king that he was returning to England by 16 January 1338: *CCR, 1337-1339*, 232.

<sup>142</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 7, 55, 57, 97, 104-5.

<sup>143</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 61.

<sup>144</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 93.

<sup>145</sup> Norfolk's use of jointure is discussed further below, 145-7.



Norfolk's second opportunity to regain wealth and power following the deposition of his half-brother was never fully realized, and by the time of his death in 1338 his political influence had declined dramatically. In part this may have been due to his character – his occasional avarice and violence, and his inability to ingratiate himself with those in power. Nevertheless, his failure to regain a position at the centre of politics was primarily caused by the nature of the interim regime of 1327 to 1330, and subsequently by Edward III's personal style of kingship. Isabella and Mortimer transpired to become just as controlling of government and as avaricious as the Despencers had been, and while Norfolk may not have objected to the men promoted by Edward III during the first years of his personal rule, he undoubtedly lost out to the king's close circle of courtiers and the 'new nobility'. As a result of these factors Norfolk died in relative obscurity, without even a male heir to inherit his estates and to continue his name into a second generation.



## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Family and Affinity**

The previous two chapters have looked in depth at Norfolk's political career, and yet his national role can only be fully comprehended by also looking at the basis of his power, which (as with any other magnate of the period) stemmed from his family, affinity, estates and finances. Phillips and Maddicott have amply demonstrated the value of such an approach by including chapters on retinue and estates in their biographies of Pembroke and Lancaster.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this chapter, however, is not primarily to elucidate in greater detail Norfolk's political role. A number of scholars – notably Ormrod and Given-Wilson – have justifiably criticised the tendency of historians to emphasize the national role of magnates to the detriment of studying their regional and personal concerns.<sup>2</sup> By examining in this chapter Norfolk's immediate family and wider affinity, and in the next chapter his estates and finances, it is hoped that a great deal may be revealed about the issues and concerns of magnates away from court, as well as some of the changes taking place in aristocratic society during the early fourteenth century.

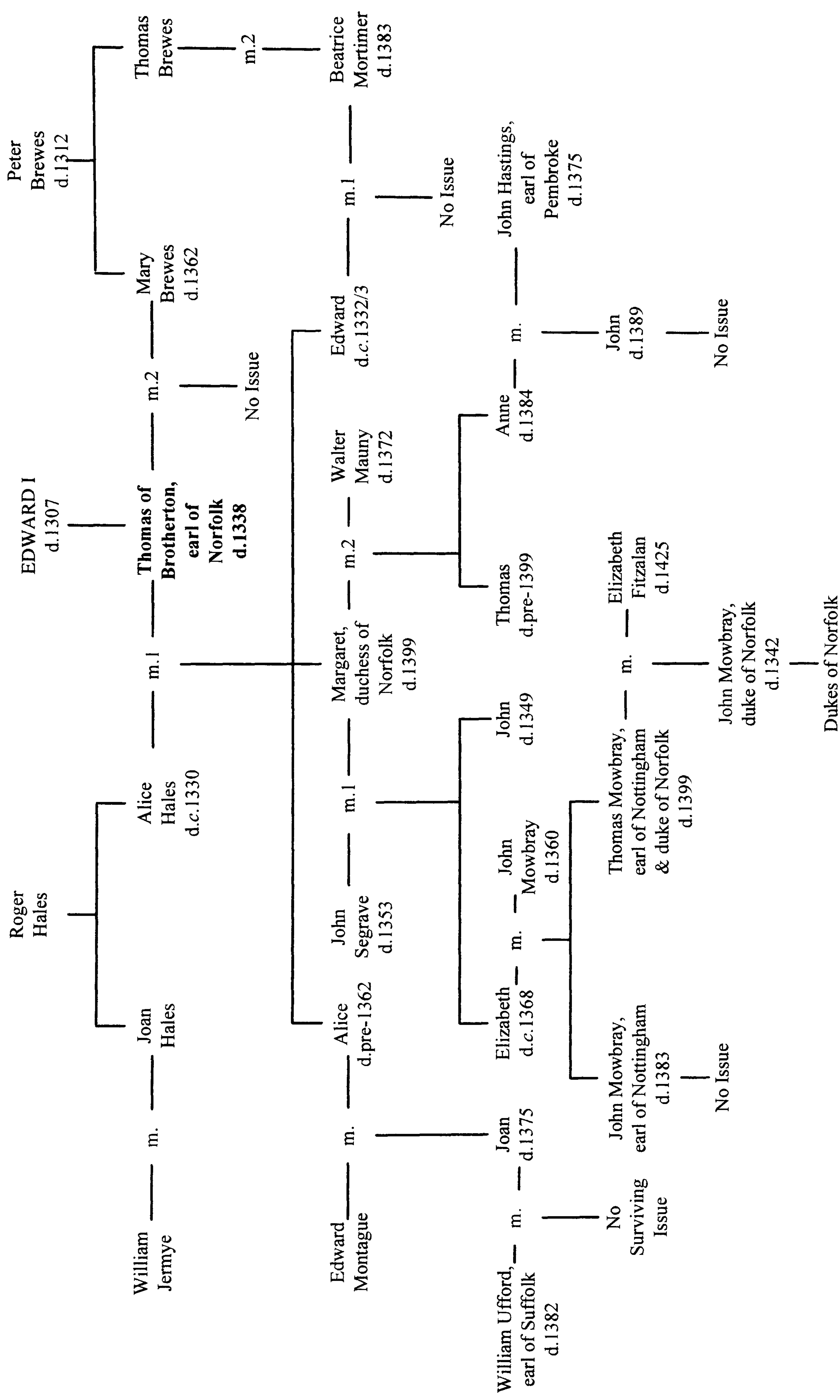
Norfolk's immediate family consisted of his first wife, Alice Hales, by whom he had three children – Edward, Alice and Margaret – and his second wife, Mary Brewes, by whom he had no surviving issue (see Figure 2). Norfolk's first marriage did not take place until the early 1320s, and this in itself is something of a surprise given the importance of marriage as a commodity throughout the Middle Ages and beyond. The right marriage could not only secure prestige, land and wealth, but could also cement local, national, or – in the case of royalty – international alliances. Norfolk's marriage could easily have been put to some political purpose or have been used to provide for him financially, and yet Edward I had planned no betrothal for him prior to his death in

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<sup>1</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 240-268; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 8-66

<sup>2</sup> Ormrod, *Political Life*, 52; Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 175.





### Figure 2. Genealogical Table Illustrating Norfolk's Immediate Family and Descendants



July 1307, and for a long while Edward II also failed to act upon the opportunity presented by his half-brother's single state. Had he lived longer, Edward I would no doubt have arranged a suitable marriage for Norfolk. As McFarlane postulated, 'there is every reason to suppose that brides like Aveline de Forz and Alice de Lacy would have been found for Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock had their father survived long enough to give them in marriage'.<sup>3</sup> Edward II's reticence to secure favourable matches for his family members is more difficult to explain. He did understand the value of marriage alliances – in 1307 he gave his niece Margaret Clare in marriage to Piers Gaveston, thereby creating a link between his favourite and the royal family.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, Edward II appears to have taken no interest in finding a bride for Norfolk prior to the early 1320s, and both Kent and Prince Edward were still unmarried by the middle of that decade. As a consequence of this, Kent was in a position to ally himself with the king's enemies in 1325 by marrying Mortimer's cousin, Margaret Wake, while Isabella was also able to seize the initiative by betrothing Prince Edward to Philippa of Hainault, thereby securing a continental ally and a military force with which to invade England in 1326.<sup>5</sup>

Norfolk's marriage was not given any serious consideration until 1320, when negotiations for a marriage alliance with Aragon were begun. According to documents published by Chaplais, this alliance (whereby Prince Edward and Norfolk were to be married to Violant and Mary, two daughters of James II of Aragon) was initially the idea of Edward II's treasurer of Agenais, Master Pierre Galicien, and one of James II's councillors, Vidal Villanova. While Villanova raised the matter with his king, Galicien persuaded the earl of Pembroke and Despenser the younger to champion the cause at the

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<sup>3</sup> Aveline Forz and Alice Lacy were wealthy heiresses who were married to Edmund and Thomas of Lancaster respectively: McFarlane, *Nobility*, 265.

<sup>4</sup> Margaret Clare and Piers Gaveston were married on 1 November 1307 at Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire: Hamilton, *Piers Gaveston*, 28; Chaplais, *Piers Gaveston*, 34.

<sup>5</sup> See above, 97.



English court.<sup>6</sup> News of the proposed alliance appears to have reached Norfolk by the summer of 1320. On 16 August of that year, Edward II wrote a letter to Pembroke in which he disclosed that his '*trescher frere le conte mareschal*' had visited him at Langley in order to ask for advice concerning his marriage. The king had professed himself reluctant to discuss the matter without Pembroke's guidance, and he suggested a meeting between the three of them at Clarendon.<sup>7</sup> Using Edward II's itinerary as a guide, it would seem probable that this meeting took place at some time between 4 and 13 September.<sup>8</sup> The outcome of their deliberations is unclear, but it is likely that the proposed Aragonese alliance was viewed favourably – Pembroke was already converted to the cause, and it would certainly have provided Norfolk and Prince Edward with wives of appropriately royal status, who could be expected to bring equally impressive dowries.

At roughly the same time that Edward II, Norfolk and Pembroke were meeting at Clarendon, James II decided to open diplomatic channels. On 10 September he summoned Galicien to his court, and on 21 September he entrusted him with letters close to be delivered to Edward II, Pembroke and Despenser the younger, in which the marriage alliance was suggested. Strangely, Edward II was in no hurry to reply to this overture, even taking into account the length of time that it would have taken for Galicien to travel from Aragon to England. When he did finally send a reply on 28 March 1321, it was concerned with matters of protocol and proposed that James II should send his envoys to the English court with full powers to negotiate. As Chaplais has pointed out, this suggestion was unlikely to meet with acceptance since it would give the improper impression that James II's daughters were offering themselves in

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<sup>6</sup> *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, i.(i), 63-6.

<sup>7</sup> TNA SC1/49/49.

<sup>8</sup> *The Itinerary of Edward II and His Household, 1307-1328*, ed. E. M. Hallam (London, 1984), 202.



marriage – indeed it prompted Villanova to write a letter to Pembroke in which he argued that it was for Edward II to send his envoys to Aragon.<sup>9</sup>

The negotiations were clearly going to be protracted – they might ensue over a number of years with no guarantee of a successful outcome. It was perhaps for this reason that Norfolk abandoned the idea of an Aragonese bride and took matters into his own hands by marrying Alice Hales instead. The precise date of the wedding of Norfolk and Alice has escaped record but it is likely to have taken place during the early 1320s, since by the time of her death in about 1330 Alice had borne at least three surviving children, one of whom – Edward – was himself married in 1328.<sup>10</sup> Little information exists regarding Alice and her family, but it is generally agreed that she was the daughter of Sir Roger Hales, who served as the coroner for the county of Norfolk in the early 1300s. Roger suffered a serious (but not fatal) assault while investigating a death in Norwich in 1303, and in the same year his son Robert (said to be from Denston in Suffolk) received a royal pardon for robberies and prison-breaking.<sup>11</sup> Another of her kinsmen, John Hales, is described in the sources as a draper or merchant from Norwich, who in 1320 was excused from serving on assizes and juries, and from being appointed as a sheriff, coroner, or other royal official.<sup>12</sup> Given her relatively lowly connections, Alice was a surprising choice as a wife for Norfolk – as Waugh has commented, ‘the match was a remarkably obscure one for a member of the royal family’.<sup>13</sup> So why did Norfolk choose to marry her? It is possible, of course, that there was a genuine attraction or affection between the pair, but with no evidence to support this, an

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<sup>9</sup> *English Medieval Diplomatic Practice*, i.(i), 63-6.

<sup>10</sup> The Framlingham account roll (29 September 1324-28 September 1325) mentions that the countess of Norfolk ordered livery for her nurse, Margaret, and so the wedding of Norfolk and Alice had clearly taken place by this time: BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 67. Alice had died by October 1330 at the latest, when a chaplain of Holy Trinity Church in Bosham was employed to celebrate divine service daily for Norfolk’s good estate, for his soul after death, and for the soul of his late wife Alice: *CPR, 1330-1334*, 11, 280.

<sup>11</sup> *CPR, 1301-1307*, 170, 190, 193-4, 223, 273; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, ix. 596-601; *DNB*, lvi. 153; *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.

<sup>12</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 277, 521.

<sup>13</sup> *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.



explanation should rather be sought in the fact that Roger Hales was a local county knight with an extended family (whose members began to serve in Norfolk's retinue), and that Norfolk viewed the marriage as a means by which he could extend his influence in his comital county. The majority of his estates lay in East Anglia and many of his followers were also drawn from this region, which served as the basis of his power. There is some evidence (discussed in greater detail below) to suggest that Norfolk was keen to increase his influence in this area, and creating a marriage alliance with a local magnate one method of doing this.<sup>14</sup>

Alice Hales might have brought nothing to her husband in terms of wealth or prestige, but she did provide him with three children, all of who were married at very young ages – almost certainly before they had reached their teenage years. This in itself was not unusual. Orme has noted that although the Church ordained that children should not be married before the age of seven, nobles often disregarded this decree and in practice children might be married at any age.<sup>15</sup> Should the prospect of an attractive marriage alliance present itself, noblemen naturally wished to further the interests of themselves and their families by acting upon it regardless of the age of their sons and daughters. Wardship was also a factor – if a nobleman died without having secured the marriage of his young heir, then the right to arrange the marriage reverted to his lord, and this could be detrimental to the family's long-term interests.

The first of Norfolk's children to be married was his only son, Edward, who in late May or early June 1328 was betrothed to Beatrice Mortimer. The political implications of this alliance have already been discussed,<sup>16</sup> but although it may have saved Norfolk from any negative associations with the Kent Conspiracy of 1330, it did prove to be costly in another sense. It would seem that at the time of the marriage (and perhaps as a condition of it), Norfolk had granted to Edward and Beatrice his manors of

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<sup>14</sup> See below, 157-9, 196-7.

<sup>15</sup> Orme, *From Childhood to Chivalry*, 7.

<sup>16</sup> See above, 119-20.



Bosham, Funtington, Stoke and Thorney in Sussex, as well as the manors of Henton, Ascot and Deddington in Oxfordshire. After Edward's early death without issue, probably in 1332 or early 1333, Norfolk came to regret his grant and seized back the lands. As a result, in the summer of 1333 while Norfolk was on campaign in Scotland together with the king, Beatrice brought a plea of novel disseisin against him for the Sussex manors.<sup>17</sup> The dispute was still not settled, however, by the following summer, when Beatrice's mother Joan became involved. On 9 August 1334 Joan Mortimer wrote to Thomas Brewes, who was soon to become Beatrice's second husband (see Figure 2). In her letter, Joan reminded Brewes that he was bound to her in a debt of 3,000 marks, and she promised that this debt would become null and void if he could persuade Norfolk to restore the lands pertaining to Beatrice or to provide monetary compensation for them.<sup>18</sup> Brewes's chances of regaining Henton, Ascot and Deddington were negligible since Norfolk had already surrendered these to the king, who had then granted them to William Bohun.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, Norfolk does seem to have been forced to give up Bosham, Funtington, Stoke and Thorney, which Beatrice then held until her death in October 1383, to the disadvantage of Norfolk and his immediate descendants.<sup>20</sup>

As with the marriage of Edward, the wedding arranged by Norfolk for his daughter Alice was both politically motivated and involved the alienation of a parcel of land. In a charter dated 3 February 1333 at York, Norfolk granted his Irish lordship of Carlow and his manor of Hamstead Marshall in Berkshire to William Montague, to hold fully with all appurtenances, advowsons, escheats, franchises and liberties. This grant formed the basis of a marriage alliance whereby Norfolk's daughter Alice was to be married to Montague's son John. The terms of the agreement were formally laid out in the charter, which was witnessed by a number of prestigious individuals, including the

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<sup>17</sup> TNA SC8/243/12/13.

<sup>18</sup> *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals: To Which is Appended a Select List of the Works of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. L. C. Loyd and D. M. Stenton (Oxford, 1950), 249.

<sup>19</sup> See above, 124, and below, 172-3.

<sup>20</sup> *CIPM*, xv. 367-8. See also *CCR, 1337-1339*, 256, 574.



earls of Warenne, Warwick and Arundel, Ralph Neville, Geoffrey Scrope, and two of Norfolk's retainers – Robert Ufford and Ralph Bocking. The charter stipulated that Montague was to hold the lands for fifteen years, after which they were to be passed to John, Alice, and their heirs. Should John and Alice die without legitimate heirs, the estates were to revert to Norfolk and his descendents.<sup>21</sup> Two days later this agreement was sealed by means of an indenture whereby Montague bound himself to Norfolk in £20,000, and likewise Norfolk made a recognisance to Montague of £10,000. Provided that both individuals kept to the terms of the charter, these sums were to become null and void at the end of the fifteen-year period. The indenture also required Montague to enfeoff John and Alice with 600 marcates of land or rent in England.<sup>22</sup> On the same day that the indenture was created, Montague acknowledged in chancery that he owed 1,300 marks to Norfolk.<sup>23</sup>

The complicated arrangements made between Norfolk and Montague in February 1333 were put into jeopardy by the premature death of Montague's son John. To prevent the agreement from collapsing, Montague's brother Edward appears to have been substituted as groom.<sup>24</sup> Certainly Montague would not have wished the marriage alliance to be broken – he gained from it the profits of a valuable Irish lordship for the term of fifteen years, after which it would provide financially for his son (in the event his brother), who would furthermore be marrying into the royal bloodline. As for Norfolk's motivations, it was argued in the previous chapter that he viewed an alliance with Montague as a method of regaining the favour of Edward III and greater influence at court.<sup>25</sup> The fact that he was willing to grant away his lordship of Carlow, worth perhaps as much as £750 per annum, demonstrates the degree of importance that the

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<sup>21</sup> TNA E328/108, m. 5. (Thanks to Dr P. Dryburgh for supplying a transcript of this document).

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> *CCR, 1333-1337*, 85.

<sup>24</sup> At the time of Norfolk's death in 1338, Montague's brother Edward – not his son John – is named as Alice's husband: *CIPM*, viii. 154-5.

<sup>25</sup> See above, 129.



association held for him.<sup>26</sup> The arrangements made by Norfolk for the marriage of his daughter Alice also provide an excellent example of the intricacies and formalities surrounding marriage alliances of this period, the details of which have all too often become obscured.

In contrast to the marriages of Edward and Alice, that of Margaret to John Segrave was neither politically motivated nor very costly. John Segrave was ten years old when his father Stephen died in 1325, and on 3 March 1327 Norfolk had been granted his wardship.<sup>27</sup> Since Norfolk held control of Segrave's marriage, he was an obvious choice as a spouse for Margaret, especially given that he stood to inherit extensive lands in eleven counties.<sup>28</sup> It was also a good match for Segrave himself (particularly after the death of Norfolk's son Edward in 1332 or 1333, as a result of which Margaret and Alice became joint heiresses to the earldom), and to secure the match Segrave gave Margaret jointure in most of his inheritance.<sup>29</sup> The marriage did, though, carry complications of its own kind. When the betrothal took place in about 1333, Segrave was still a minor. He would not enter into his inheritance for roughly another three years, but it was now appropriate that he should have some income to support himself and his new wife. To this end, Norfolk relinquished his rights to some of the Segrave lands and revenues still held by him in wardship. In June 1333, for instance, he granted to Segrave the manor of Chacombe in Northamptonshire.<sup>30</sup> The following year Norfolk granted to his son-in-law the right to make presentations to churches pertaining to his inheritance.<sup>31</sup> The matter was complicated, however, by the fact that Norfolk seems to have granted a considerable number of other Segrave

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<sup>26</sup> For the value of the lordship of Carlow, as well as Norfolk's reasons for granting away this particular portion of his estates rather than his lands in England or Wales, see below, 190-6.

<sup>27</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 23. Also see above, 106, 115-6.

<sup>28</sup> For Segrave's inheritance, see *CIPM*, vi. 430-5.

<sup>29</sup> McFarlane, *Nobility*, 66 n. 2. Margaret appears to have been less than pleased with the marriage arranged for her: R. E. Archer, 'The Estates and Finances of Margaret of Brotherton, c.1320-1399', *BIHR*, 60 (1987), 266.

<sup>30</sup> *Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals*, 271.

<sup>31</sup> BCM D5/1/7, calendared in *A Catalogue of the Medieval Muniments at Berkeley Castle*, ed. B. Wells-Furby, 2 vols. (Bristol, 2004), ii. 714.



properties to his followers. He had given Richard Grey of Codnor the manor of Segrave in Leicestershire to hold until the majority of the heir, while John Jermye and William Giffard had both received other Segrave manors and rents in several counties. These three men were persuaded during the early 1330s to relinquish their rights to most of these properties, but they no doubt expected some form of recompense from Norfolk in return.<sup>32</sup>

By about 1333, Norfolk had arranged marriages for all of his children, but both his first wife and his only son and heir had died. It was probably the death of his son Edward that prompted Norfolk to remarry. He would have been keen to secure another male heir, and it is also significant to note that his second wife, Mary Brewes, was the sister of Thomas Brewes, who had married Beatrice Mortimer after Edward's death (see Figure 2).<sup>33</sup> It is entirely possible that Norfolk's marriage to Mary was first raised during the negotiations between Norfolk and Thomas Brewes in 1334, or even that it formed part of the terms of their eventual settlement. Mary herself had previously been married to Sir Ralph Cobham, who died in 1326. She had already proven her fertility by giving Ralph a son named John, who lived into adulthood. She was also a better financial prospect than Norfolk's first wife had been. As a widow, Mary brought dower lands with her into her second marriage, and Ralph Cobham's inquisition post mortem reveals that she had also held the manors of Tyburn in Middlesex and Langney in Sussex in jointure with her late husband.<sup>34</sup>

Jointure was a method becoming increasingly popular at this time whereby noblemen could control what happened to their estates (or at least a portion of them) after their deaths. To create a jointure, a magnate would grant one or more of his manors

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<sup>32</sup> BCM D5/1/1; BCM D5/1/4; BCM D5/1/5; BCM D5/1/6. All of these documents are also calendared in *Catalogue of Medieval Muniments*, ii. 713-4.

<sup>33</sup> Tout and Burke both incorrectly asserted that Norfolk's second wife was the daughter of Sir William Roos and the widow of Sir William Braose: *DNB*, lvi. 153; B. Burke, *A Genealogical History of the Dormant, Abeyant, Forfeited, and Extinct Peerages of the British Empire* (London, 1866), 433.

<sup>34</sup> *CIPM*, vi. 436-9.



to a few of his trusted retainers or to the king, who would then regrant them jointly to the magnate and his wife for the duration of their lives, with remainder to his – or their – heirs. The benefit of this process was that if the magnate died whilst his heir was still a minor, the lands held in jointure would remain in his wife's possession and therefore escape the potentially damaging incident of wardship. It also gave the wife greater security, as she could expect to hold these lands for her life in addition to the dower lands that she would receive upon the death of her husband, and so jointure was sometimes made a condition of the marriage contract.<sup>35</sup>

Holmes gives a number of prominent examples of jointures in the second half of the fourteenth century, but their use was probably more common in the earlier part of the century than he believed.<sup>36</sup> It has already been noted that Ralph Cobham used the method, and Norfolk also jointly enfeoffed both of his wives in some of his lands. On 8 January 1326, for instance, he was given licence by the king to enfeoff two of his clerks with the manor of Radenhale in Norfolk together with the advowson of the church there, which the clerks then regranted to Norfolk and Alice with reversion to their heirs.<sup>37</sup> Mary held much more extensively in jointure. On 1 October 1336, Norfolk again used two of his clerks to create a jointure with her in the lordship of Chepstow.<sup>38</sup> Two years later in June 1338 (by which time Norfolk may already have been suffering from the illness that was to cause his death), he seems to have desired to make this jointure more secure by gaining royal authority for it, as he surrendered the lordship to the king, who then regranted again it to Norfolk and Mary with reversion to Norfolk's heirs.<sup>39</sup> In the same year Mary was also given jointure in the castle, town and manor of Framlingham

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<sup>35</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, 45-50; McFarlane, *Nobility*, 64-7; Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 138-9.

<sup>36</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, 45-50.

<sup>37</sup> *CPR*, 1324-1327, 205.

<sup>38</sup> *CPR*, 1334-1338, 237.

<sup>39</sup> *CPR*, 1338-1340, 93.



and the manor of Walton, Suffolk.<sup>40</sup> Mary's inquisition post mortem reveals that she still held these lands at the time of her death on 9 June 1362.<sup>41</sup>

Norfolk's use of jointure raises a number of pertinent points, quite apart from highlighting the growing concern amongst the nobility at this time of controlling what would happen to their estates after death. Holmes, for instance, has suggested that jointure was most frequently used to protect newly acquired estates.<sup>42</sup> Norfolk's jointure with Alice in the manor of Radenhale does corroborate that it was used for this purpose. This manor had been acquired only in May 1317, when Norfolk had gained it by means of an exchange with one of his retainers, Osbert Clinton, in return for a messuage and sixty-eight librates of land and rent in Great Chesterford, Essex.<sup>43</sup> Regarding his jointures with Mary, though, Norfolk's primary concern seems to have been to safeguard some of his most valuable estates – Framlingham in Suffolk and the lordship of Chepstow – rather than new acquisitions. Norfolk's jointures with Mary also provide a good illustration of one of the social repercussions of its use – the increasing number of enormously wealthy and often very long-lived dowagers in fourteenth-century England. Whilst the primary purpose of the jointure was to keep estates within the family during a minority, many heirs found that their mothers or stepmothers lived well past the time when they came of age, and that they therefore did not gain control of the bulk of their inheritances until well into adulthood. This was a particular disadvantage to male heirs, who needed the revenue from their estates upon which to base their local and national influence, but it was also detrimental to heiresses such as Norfolk's daughters and their husbands, whose stepmother lived until 1362.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 61.

<sup>41</sup> *CIPM*, xi. 305-14.

<sup>42</sup> Holmes, *Estates*, 49.

<sup>43</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 659-60.

<sup>44</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 137-49; R. E. Archer, 'Rich Old Ladies: The Problem of Late Medieval Dowagers', in T. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester, 1984), 15-35.



Marriage was one means by which magnates could extend their power and influence. Another method of doing this was to build up a strong affinity, and attention will now be turned to Norfolk's wider following. For the purposes of clarity, magnate affinities can be divided into three main groupings: the retinue of knights and squires, the clerks and officials who were responsible for the administration of the household and estates, and the domestic servants. In reality these divisions were somewhat blurred, since knights and squires might often also serve their lords in an administrative capacity. Because very little information has survived regarding Norfolk's menial servants, this study will concentrate on his military retinue and his officials.

Much work has been done in the field of later medieval magnate affinities since McFarlane's seminal paper on 'bastard feudalism' written in 1945, at which time the only magnate retinue about which anything of significance was known was that of John of Gaunt.<sup>45</sup> Since that time, John of Gaunt's affinity has been further studied in depth and many of his indentures have been published.<sup>46</sup> We now also know a considerable amount about the retinues of the earls of Pembroke and Lancaster in the early fourteenth century, as well as the Beauchamp affinity in the fifteenth century.<sup>47</sup> Other notable works include Saul's study of the Gloucestershire gentry and Bean's analysis of indentured retinues.<sup>48</sup> Nevertheless, only a minute proportion of magnate affinities in the later medieval period have so far received attention, and it is partly for this reason that so much controversy and debate still surrounds the subject.<sup>49</sup> By examining

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<sup>45</sup> K. B. McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', *BIHR*, 20 (1945), 161-80.

<sup>46</sup> 'Indentures of Retinue with John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Enrolled in Chancery 1367-1399', ed. N. B. Lewis, *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (1964), 77-112; S. Walker, *The Lancastrian Affinity 1361-1399* (Oxford, 1990).

<sup>47</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 253-68; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 40-66; C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp Affinity: A Study of Bastard Feudalism at Work', *EHR*, 95 (1980), 514-32.

<sup>48</sup> N. Saul, *Knights and Esquires: The Gloucestershire Gentry in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1981); J. M. W. Bean, *From Lord to Patron: Lordship in Late Medieval England* (Manchester, 1989).

<sup>49</sup> For the wider debate, which cannot be entered into here, see in particular: D. Crouch and D. A. Carpenter, 'Debate: Bastard Feudalism Revised', *Past & Present*, 131 (1991), 165-89; G. Harriss, 'Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England', *Past & Present*, 138 (1993), 46-57; N. B. Lewis, 'The Organisation of Indentured Retinues in Fourteenth Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 27 (1945), 29-40.



Norfolk's following in conjunction with what is already known, a significant amount can be added to our knowledge about the composition of magnate affinities and the nature of the relationship between a lord and his followers in the early fourteenth century.

One of the primary reasons as to why so few magnate affinities have been studied to date is the paucity of evidence. It should be noted from the outset that less information has survived detailing Norfolk's following than for individuals such as Pembroke, Lancaster and Gaunt. For instance, none of his original indentures of retinue have survived, although it is clear from government records that he did make formal contracts with some of his followers. In 1332, for example, it was enrolled that in return for serving as constable of Framlingham Castle, Geoffrey Quincy was to receive 5s. per week from Norfolk, as well as hay for two horses, half a bushel of oats for every knight serving under his authority, and yearly livery.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, in 1337 Edward III confirmed a grant from Norfolk to Thomas Pabenham of the hundred of Loose in Suffolk, which he was to hold for life by way of a fee in return for staying in Norfolk's *comitiva*.<sup>51</sup> Government records in fact provide the bulk of evidence concerning Norfolk's affinity, and include the lists of protections issued by the king to his magnates and their followers before campaigns and expeditions abroad, as well as a list of Norfolk's household members in 1337.<sup>52</sup> Additional information is supplied by Norfolk's own deeds, which were sometimes witnessed by his followers, while the names of some of his household and estate officials are also given in an estate account for Framlingham in Suffolk dating from 1324-25.<sup>53</sup> When these various sources are examined in conjunction with other miscellaneous documents, a considerable amount can be gleaned about Norfolk's following.

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<sup>50</sup> CPR, 1330-1334, 260.

<sup>51</sup> CPR, 1334-1338, 467.

<sup>52</sup> TNA C49/7/4

<sup>53</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552; *Medieval Framlingham*, 51-85.



Turning firstly to the size of Norfolk's military retinue, it should be borne in mind that Norfolk was one of the wealthiest earls of the early fourteenth century and that he would have been keen to maintain his royal status and lifestyle. It is therefore to be expected that he would have retained a considerable number of knights and squires in his service. Clearly his retinue would have been nowhere near as large as that of John of Gaunt towards the end of the fourteenth century, which numbered around 170 indentured men and which probably represents the largest magnate affinity of the later medieval period.<sup>54</sup> Nor could it have challenged the retinue of Thomas of Lancaster, which – according to the estimates of Maddicott – numbered at its height around fifty-five knights, this sizeable force being maintained by Lancaster's annual revenue from his vast estates of about £11,000.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that the size of Norfolk's military following compared highly favourably with – and in most cases exceeded – those of his contemporaries. Given the absence of any of Norfolk's household accounts or rolls of livery, it is necessary to turn to the lists of protections issued by Edward II in 1320 and 1322 to glean some idea of the relative size of his retinue. On 26 February 1320 the king granted protections to Norfolk and to thirty-eight of his followers, who were shortly to accompany him on his expedition to pay homage to the king of France.<sup>56</sup> Of these thirty-eight individuals, Thomas Perret and William Bathon are described as clerks. Although they are not identified as such, it is clear from other sources that William of Newport and Richard Burghstede were also clerks.<sup>57</sup> Several other men, such as Michael 'the usher' and Thomas 'the chandler', appear to have been relatively lowly members of Norfolk's household. The majority of the rest, however, represent the core of his military force of knights and men-at-arms. By way of comparison, protections were also granted in February and March 1320 to the earl of

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<sup>54</sup> 'Indentures of Retinue', 77-8; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 18.

<sup>55</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 45.

<sup>56</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 427.

<sup>57</sup> See, for instance, *CPR, 1324-1327*, 205.



Kent with twenty-six of his men, the earl of Richmond with seven followers, Despenser the elder together with ten others, and the archbishop of Hereford who took with him seven men.<sup>58</sup> Similarly, on 20 July 1322 Norfolk and thirty-seven members of his affinity were granted protections by the king in preparation for the Scottish campaign taking place that summer.<sup>59</sup> By this time Despenser the elder, recently created earl of Winchester, had expanded his following to better reflect his new position and received protections for forty-four other men. Pembroke was issued with protections for thirty-two others, while Richmond once again had relatively few companions – thirteen of his men were named.<sup>60</sup>

The lists of protections are an extremely valuable source, not least because they name the individuals who accompanied their lords on campaigns and expeditions. However, they represent only the inner circle of a lord's affinity rather than the full military force available to him, since many of the knights named would have been contracted to bring other knights and men-at-arms with them when called upon. Magnates had been making such contracts, or indentures of retinue, with their followers since at least the late thirteenth century. One of the earliest surviving examples is the indenture made on 9 June 1297 between Roger Bigod IV, earl of Norfolk, and John Segrave. The terms of this indenture stipulated that Segrave was to serve Bigod in times of peace and war in England, Scotland and Wales, and that when summoned he was to bring with him five other knights and ten men-at-arms. In return, Segrave was to receive the manor of Lodden in Norfolk together with the advowson of the church there, the right to *bouche* of court, fodder for his horses, and wages for his grooms.<sup>61</sup> The number of men a retainer was contracted to provide could differ widely, as is amply demonstrated by the surviving indentures of Thomas of Lancaster. William Latimer, for

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<sup>58</sup> CPR, 1317-1321, 419, 426-7, 435.

<sup>59</sup> CPR, 1321-1324, 187.

<sup>60</sup> CPR, 1321-1324, 185-9.

<sup>61</sup> Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, 23-4; Bean, *Lord to Patron*, 43-8.



instance, was contracted to serve Lancaster with forty men including himself, one of whom was to be a banneret, and ten of whom should be knights. At the other end of the scale, Hugh Meynill was only obliged to find three men other than himself. A more typical number is probably represented by Lancaster's indentures with John Eure and Adam Swillington, who each agreed to sub-contract three knights and seven men-at-arms.<sup>62</sup>

Given that none of Norfolk's indentures of retinue have survived, and that the terms of these indentures could in any case differ so widely, it would be impossible to estimate the full extent of Norfolk's military retinue using the lists of protections. It is therefore fortunate that the king's wardrobe book for the period 1 May 1322-19 October 1323 has survived, since this document details the wages paid to magnates and their contingents serving in the Scottish campaign during the summer of 1322. It provides a much clearer idea than the lists of protections as to the true size of Norfolk's military force, and records that Norfolk was paid a total of £321 2s. for serving from 4 August-10 September 1322 with a contingent of 123 men. His force comprised three bannerets who each received 4s. per day, twenty-nine knights who were paid 2s. a day, and ninety-one men-at-arms on a wage of 12d. per day. As an earl, Norfolk himself received a fee of 8s. for each day that he served.<sup>63</sup> Norfolk's contingent seems to have been significantly larger than those of the other earls serving in the campaign. Pembroke's force was the second largest recorded in the document – he received £282 14s. in wages for himself and for 95 men-at-arms, including two bannerets and nineteen knights. Norfolk's brother Kent served with eighty-six men-at-arms, of whom two were bannerets and eighteen were knights, and was paid a total of £224 4s. in wages. Arundel

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<sup>62</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 41-2.

<sup>63</sup> BL Stowe MS 553, fo. 56v.



received £184 2s. for serving with a contingent of seventy-four men, which included two bannerets and sixteen knights.<sup>64</sup>

Like Norfolk's military force, his household was probably also a sizeable establishment. Although none of his household documents have survived, a certain amount can be discerned about his *hospicium* as a result of the charges of oppression made against his household in 1337. Because of these charges, Norfolk was forced to acquiesce to the demands of the king's council that Constantine Mortimer should be appointed to survey the rule of his household and to make any necessary changes. It was further recorded in the patent rolls that a letter to this effect was to be sent to Norfolk's steward, Ralph Bocking, together with a list of individuals who were authorized to serve in the household. Only those men who were named in the list were to be allowed to continue in Norfolk's service.<sup>65</sup> Fortunately, the mandate sent to Ralph Bocking, together with a list of Norfolk's household servants, has survived.<sup>66</sup> The list, entitled '*Le Meisnee le Counte*', begins with Norfolk's two stewards – Sir Ralph Bocking, steward of his estates, and Sir John Hales, steward of the household. It then names nine household clerks, of whom the most important were Peter Denton, the treasurer, Richard Burghstede, keeper of the great seal, and a parson named Nicholas who acted as keeper of the privy seal. (Norfolk also usually employed a keeper of the wardrobe, although this official is not mentioned in the 1337 list. In 1324-25 the keeper of the wardrobe was William of Newport, who had served as a clerk of the wardrobe in Norfolk's childhood household).<sup>67</sup> William of Radenhale was Norfolk's chaplain, who was also in charge of the department of the almonry. Norfolk's wife Mary had her own chaplain, John Jermye, as well as a clerk to write letters for her, Roger of Forncett. The other three clerks were attached to the chapel or to other household offices. After the

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<sup>64</sup> BL Stowe MS 553, fo. 56r-v.

<sup>65</sup> *CPR*, 1334-1338, 426, 434. Also see above, 126-7.

<sup>66</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 1-2.

<sup>67</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 62-3, 66, 71. Also see Appendix 2.



clerks are listed six serjeants who were principally in charge of household departments such as the chamber, hall, pantry and buttery, and ten squires, of whom two were tailors. There were seventeen valets, whose duties ranged from making candles and shoeing the horses in the stables, to purveying supplies such as hay and other essential items. In the entourage of Norfolk's wife Mary, there was one lady and three ladies-in-waiting. There were also two laundresses, and on the lowest rung of the household hierarchy were the twelve pageboys.<sup>68</sup>

In total, sixty-two individuals were listed as members of Norfolk's *hospicium* in 1337. In reality, his household was probably significantly larger than this – Prestwich has pointed out that the list did not include his household knights, or his huntsmen, carters, and other menial servants.<sup>69</sup> Furthermore, the list represents a scaled-down version of Norfolk's household in accordance with the demands of Constantine Mortimer and the king's council. This makes meaningful comparisons very difficult, especially given the scarcity of accurate records detailing the extent of households belonging to other contemporary magnates. To provide some sort of context, Woolgar has suggested that households reached their peak in terms of size in about 1300, and thereafter gradually declined. According to his research, the total extent of Lincoln's household in 1299 (including his household knights) numbered around 184 individuals, Hugh Audley the younger's household in 1320 comprised roughly 96 individuals, while in the late fourteenth century John of Gaunt had a household of about 115 people, in addition to his indentured retinue of 170 men.<sup>70</sup>

Among those listed as members of Norfolk's household in 1337 was Ralph Bocking, who at this time was acting as the steward of his estates, and this serves as a reminder that Norfolk also needed a group of men to supervise the administration of his extensive lands. Although only Bocking is mentioned in 1337, Norfolk probably usually

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<sup>68</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2.

<sup>69</sup> Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 374.

<sup>70</sup> C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven, 1999), 8-15.



employed three estates stewards – one for his lands in England, one for his lordship of Chepstow in the March of Wales, and another for his lordship of Carlow in Ireland. This was the case during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when Roger Bigod IV held the earldom of Norfolk, and extant evidence suggests that the tradition continued.<sup>71</sup> In 1324-25 Robert Aspale was acting as the steward of Norfolk's English manors, and Henry Valoignes and Ralph Bocking filled this roll during the 1330s.<sup>72</sup> Adam Breton was steward of the lordship of Carlow prior to his death in about 1319, and was later replaced by Arnold Pouwer.<sup>73</sup> The inquisition post mortem of John Knovil in 1317 records that when the king's escheator visited Knovil's lands in the March of Wales, he was prevented from carrying out his duties by Roger St Maurus, who claimed to be Norfolk's steward in the lordship of Chepstow.<sup>74</sup>

The only officials to have authority over Norfolk's stewards were the attorneys appointed by him in his absence to safeguard his interests. Norfolk regularly sent attorneys to his lordship of Carlow, which he never visited himself, and because of the responsibility of the position he often appointed two or three attorneys to act in conjunction. These men were usually clerks, although they might include dependable retainers such as Sir Robert Aspale, who was appointed as one of Norfolk's attorneys in 1330 when the earl went to Gascony in the king's service.<sup>75</sup> Below the attorneys and the stewards were the receivers, bailiffs and reeves. These latter three were financial officials – at a local level the bailiffs and reeves would collect the rents and other dues owed to their lord, which would be passed on to the receiver, who produced an annual account of income and expenditure. To minimize the possibility of corruption, these accounts would then be audited by a group of the lord's most trusted men. The

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<sup>71</sup> Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, 45-6.

<sup>72</sup> *CCR, 1337-1339*, 466; BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 64, 70.

<sup>73</sup> *CCR, 1318-1323*, 80; *A Contemporary Narrative of the Proceedings against Dame Alice Kyteler, Prosecuted for Sorcery in 1324*, by Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, ed. T. Wright (London, 1843), 12-13.

<sup>74</sup> *CIPM*, vi. 5. This is the only extant reference to Roger St Maurus, and must be treated with caution.

<sup>75</sup> For Norfolk's attorneys, see: TNA SC1/36/106; *CPR, 1317-1321*, 122, 125; *CPR, 1324-1327*, 120; *CPR, 1327-1330*, 15, 253, 508; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 262.



4-25 was audited by Norfolk's household steward, Walter of Glemsford, the keeper of his wardrobe, William of Newport, one of his long-serving retainers, Sir Gregory Chastel, and two local men, Simon of Lopham and John of Peasenhall.<sup>76</sup> Other notable officials include the constables of Norfolk's castles such as Richard Colevyle and Geoffrey Quincy, who were both employed by Norfolk at differing times as his constable of Framlingham Castle.<sup>77</sup> Norfolk also seems to have highly valued his parkers and gamekeepers, who were so essential to the noble pastime of hunting. Robert Wafre, one of Norfolk's parkers in 1324-25, received a yearly wage of £6 15s. 8½d., whereas his carpenters were only paid about 3d. per day.<sup>78</sup> In return for acting as his chief parker at Lopham, Norfolk granted the manor of Earsham in Norfolk to John Fourneux to hold for the duration of his life – a grant worth about £50 per annum.<sup>79</sup>

It is impossible to estimate the exact size of Norfolk's affinity, but if his military retinue is considered in conjunction with his household and his estate officials, then the extent of his following would very easily have exceeded 200 men. In addition there would have been a number of what Jones and Walker have described as 'well-wishers' – men who had ties to a lord, but no clearly defined obligations to him.<sup>80</sup> But of course it was not only the size of a magnate's retinue that lent him power, prestige and influence. The composition of the affinity, the status of the individuals concerned, the geographical areas from which they were drawn, and the various ties which bound them to their lord and to each other, were also important factors. In terms of rank and status, the most illustrious of Norfolk's retainers was Robert Umfraville, earl of Angus, who appears in the list of protections issued to those accompanying Norfolk to France

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<sup>76</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 62-3, 71.

<sup>77</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 260; BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 64-5.

<sup>78</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 10, 62-3.

<sup>79</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2; *CPR, 1338-1340*, 7.

<sup>80</sup> 'Private Indentures for Life Service in Peace and War 1278-1476', ed. M. Jones and S. Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, 32 (1994), 1-190.



in 1320, together with one of his kinsman, Humphrey Umfraville.<sup>81</sup> Having received seisin of his father's estates in 1307 at the age of thirty, Angus was considerably older than Norfolk, and had long served the king in both France and Scotland before he accompanied Norfolk to France.<sup>82</sup> His title would have lent a great deal of prestige to Norfolk himself, especially on such a high-status expedition. Whilst the king might retain his earls to serve him on campaigns in return for a fee, only the most wealthy and influential earls could hope to imitate the king by retaining one of their peers. Lancaster was certainly wealthy enough to do this, and also retained the earl of Angus for a fee of 100 marks. Lancaster additionally retained the earl of Warenne in 1309 (probably in connection with the Dunstable tournament), and may also have counted David Strathbogie, earl of Atholl, amongst his followers.<sup>83</sup> It was by no means usual, though, for one earl to retain another in his service, and Norfolk was one of very few earls apart from Lancaster to do so during the early fourteenth century, thereby demonstrating the superiority of his status over and above his peers.

Other distinguished members of Norfolk's retinue included Sir Robert Ufford and Sir Walter Mauny, who have already been mentioned above.<sup>84</sup> Also worthy of note are Sir Richard Grey, Sir John Verdon and Sir Robert Morley, who were all associated with Norfolk during the 1320s and the 1330s.<sup>85</sup> Sir Richard Grey of Codnor in Derbyshire in particular had a successful career as a royal servant, as well as serving Norfolk – he was appointed steward of Gascony in 1324, and acted as constable of Nottingham Castle between 14 December 1325 and 26 October 1330.<sup>86</sup> Sir John Verdon came from a family who had settled in Norfolk shortly after the Norman Conquest. Born in June 1299, he was a member of Norfolk's contingent on the Scottish campaign

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<sup>81</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 427.

<sup>82</sup> Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, i. 149-50.

<sup>83</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 56.

<sup>84</sup> See above, 129-31.

<sup>85</sup> For evidence of the associations between these men and Norfolk, see: TNA E326/7384; *CCR, 1323-1327*, 168; *CPR, 1321-1324*, 187; *CPR, 1327-1330*, 206, 213-14, 233-4; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 112, 292-3, 296-7; *CPR, 1334-1338*, 236.

<sup>86</sup> Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, vi. 124-5.



of 1322, and was also militarily active in Scotland and France in the 1330s.<sup>87</sup> Sir Robert Morley was likewise an active soldier, who received numerous royal commissions during his lifetime (often in association with Norfolk), and who was regularly summoned to parliament between 1317 and 1357. According to the author of the *Annales Paulini*, he also organized a prestigious tournament at Stepney in 1331, which was attended by both the king and Norfolk.<sup>88</sup>

Robert Ufford, John Verdon and Robert Morley were all prominent East Anglian landholders, and a significant number of Norfolk's other followers also seem to have been recruited from Norfolk and Suffolk or the neighbouring counties of Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire and Essex. Among the men who accompanied Norfolk to France in 1320 were Robert of Mildenhall (Suffolk), Richard of Therston (Norfolk), and Giles and Roger of Trumpeton (Cambridgeshire).<sup>89</sup> Norfolk's contingent on the Scottish expedition of 1322 included William of Calthorp (Norfolk), William of Clopton (Suffolk), Thomas of Hickling (Norfolk), Robert and William of Langham (Norfolk), Richard of Repps (Norfolk), and Thomas of Shelton (Norfolk).<sup>90</sup> In May 1328 James of Lopham (Norfolk) was granted a royal pardon for previously having plundered estates belonging to the Despensers on Norfolk's orders, and this list of men serving Norfolk who held came from East Anglia could easily be extended.<sup>91</sup>

Does this suggest that Norfolk deliberately pursued a policy of retaining men from East Anglia where his estates were most compact? Norfolk was the wealthiest and most illustrious landholder in East Anglia, and it may simply have been for this reason that men from the area flocked to his service. It should also be remembered there were many individuals amongst Norfolk's followers whose principal manors and estates did

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<sup>87</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 187; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, xii.(ii), 241.

<sup>88</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 353-4; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, ix. 211-14.

<sup>89</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 427.

<sup>90</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 187.

<sup>91</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 268.



not lie in the region, Richard Grey of Codnor in Derbyshire being one such example. Looking at Norfolk's contemporaries, Pembroke rarely seems to have recruited men from his lordships in Ireland and Wales, and within England his retainers were drawn from diverse geographical regions including Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire, Yorkshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. Phillips has pointed out that the 'wide distribution in the home areas of Pembroke's retainers...and especially the absence of any substantial and coherent group of retainers from his palatine lands either in Wales or in Ireland are all very significant. These facts suggest that Pembroke lacked any firm and localized power base from which he could regularly draw support, and on which he could rest his political career at a national level'. Phillips suggests that because Pembroke was so often involved in the service of the Crown – both at home and abroad – he had little opportunity to visit his Welsh and Irish lands, or to create strong personal ties in any localized areas in England, and furthermore that because he was never in opposition to the Crown he saw little need to build up a strong affinity.<sup>92</sup> By contrast, Lancaster's affinity was largely recruited from the Midlands and the North where the majority of his estates lay, and this provided him with a strong power base, which he could use to challenge the king's authority.<sup>93</sup> Since individuals from East Anglia and its neighbouring counties probably accounted for at least half of Norfolk's following, and there was an almost complete dearth of retainers from his lordships in Wales and Ireland, it would seem probable that Norfolk – like Lancaster – was keen to build up a localized power base and that he deliberately recruited men from the region of East Anglia. His fall from favour in 1322, and again in 1328-29, may have prompted him to do so, or it may simply have been a precautionary reaction to the frequent violence and political upheaval that occurred during his lifetime.

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<sup>92</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 258-9.

<sup>93</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 55.



Typically, some of Norfolk's retainers were also his tenants. Robert Ufford's manor of the same name, for example, was held of Norfolk by the service of one knight's fee,<sup>94</sup> Robert Aspale held a messuage, pasture and woodland of the earldom of Norfolk for a moiety of a fourth of a knight's fee,<sup>95</sup> and John Weyland held the manor of Charsfield in Suffolk from Norfolk for a fourth of a knight's fee.<sup>96</sup> Other names familiar from Norfolk's affinity appear in an undated roll of rents compiled by his bailiffs.<sup>97</sup> Maddicott and Phillips have also found that a number of Lancaster and Pembroke's retainers were their tenants, and many of Gaunt's knights held land from him.<sup>98</sup> It is to be expected in the large retinues of extensive landholders such as Norfolk, Lancaster, Pembroke and Gaunt that some of their followers would also have been their tenants, and Maddicott has suggested that 'feudal loyalties were no longer sufficient to bind lord and man without the reinforcement of a fee'.<sup>99</sup> Nevertheless, the idea that land tenure might still in this period influence to some extent the composition of a magnate's retinue should not be entirely disregarded. As McFarlane reasoned, traditional associations based on land tenure might still sway a man's choice of lord, and 'if their ancestors had been bound in feudal times by close ties to a particular family there was a natural presumption that...the tradition would survive'.<sup>100</sup>

Within Norfolk's affinity there were familial, as well as tenurial, ties of loyalty. After Norfolk's marriage to Alice Hales, a number of her relatives entered into his service. This is particularly clear from a charter of 1 January 1326, whereby Sir Robert Morley granted his manor of Carbrooke in Norfolk to Sir Walter Hales. The circumstances behind this grant from one of Norfolk's retainers to one of his kinsmen are unclear, but the charter is of particular importance because it was witnessed by

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<sup>94</sup> *CIPM*, vi. 44.

<sup>95</sup> *CIPM*, v. 196.

<sup>96</sup> *CIPM*, vii. 37-8.

<sup>97</sup> BL Egerton Charters 8761, m. 1-2.

<sup>98</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 58; Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 256; McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', 169.

<sup>99</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 58.

<sup>100</sup> McFarlane, 'Bastard Feudalism', 169.



Norfolk and his closest followers, who are listed as Sir John Verdon, Sir William Giffard, Sir William Jermie and Sir Robert Aspale (knights), Roger Hales, William of Newport and Richard Burghstede (clerks), John Hales, John Jermie and Walter of Glemsford.<sup>101</sup> The Hales appear again in April 1330, when John Hales was named as one of three followers accompanying Norfolk to Gascony, and Roger Hales was nominated as one of Norfolk's attorneys whilst he was away.<sup>102</sup> In 1337 John Hales (now a knight) was employed as the steward of Norfolk's household, and Roger Hales was also listed as one of his squires.<sup>103</sup>

Among the other witnesses to the charter of 1 January 1326, William and John Jermie were also Norfolk's kinsmen – Alice's sister, Joan, was married to William (see Figure 2).<sup>104</sup> William first appears in Norfolk's retinue as early as 1322 when he served Norfolk in Scotland.<sup>105</sup> The Framlingham estate account for 1324-25 reveals that both William and John had the privilege of hunting on Norfolk's lands, and Norfolk himself met the expenses of their horses during their stay.<sup>106</sup> In 1337 – long after the death of Alice – John Jermie was still a member of Norfolk's household, now acting as chaplain for his second wife, Mary.<sup>107</sup>

This retention of Alice's kinsmen within Norfolk's affinity should not necessarily be taken as typical. Usually a great magnate could be expected to marry a woman whose father or brother was of high enough status to keep a retinue of his own. Magnates might often maintain poorer members of their own family, but rarely that of their wife. For instance, Pembroke's retinue included his bastard son, Henry Valence, and his nephews, John Hastings and John Comyn, but there is no evidence that he also

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<sup>101</sup> TNA E326/3784 (thanks to Dr P. Dryburgh for supplying a transcript of this document).

<sup>102</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 508

<sup>103</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2.

<sup>104</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 267.

<sup>105</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 187.

<sup>106</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 64, 71.

<sup>107</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2.



maintained the relatives of his wives, Beatrice Clermont-Nesle and Marie St Pol.<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, any family ties between a lord and his retainers would have helped to strengthen the affinity.

It is probable that there were occurrences of intermarriage between Norfolk's retainers (this was certainly the case within the better-documented following of Lancaster).<sup>109</sup> It was also common for more than one member of a particular family to serve Norfolk at the same time, and this would have served to create further bonds within the group. Examples include Henry and Maurice Brun and Giles and Roger of Trumpeton who served with Norfolk in France in 1320,<sup>110</sup> as well as John and Roger Courson, Robert and William of Langham, and Thomas and Nicholas Latimer, who all accompanied him to Scotland in 1322, while many other instances could be cited from among his household and estate officials.<sup>111</sup> Finding positions for the relatives of his retainers and thereby furthering the prospects of their families as a whole, was also a means by which Norfolk could reward his loyal followers.

The relationship between a lord and his retainers was a reciprocal one, and there were a variety of ways in which Norfolk could repay the services provided by his followers. The most obvious form of financial remuneration was the fee, which might be paid directly, by means of an annuity from a manor or manors, or by the grant of land. Looking at Norfolk's contemporaries, one of Pembroke's highest paid indentured retainers, Robert fitz Payn, received £100 for serving him from Christmas 1303 until Easter 1305. At the lower end of the scale, John Darcy agreed to serve as Pembroke's valet during times of both peace and war in return for an annuity of 100s. from the town of Gainsborough, his keep and robes, with the promise of land and rent to the value of

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<sup>108</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 255-6.

<sup>109</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 60-1.

<sup>110</sup> CPR, 1317-1321, 427.

<sup>111</sup> CPR, 1321-1324, 187.



13½ marks on taking his knighthood.<sup>112</sup> Maddicott's survey of Lancaster's retainers illustrates the variety of ways in which they might receive their fees: some were paid directly from a receivership or from the earl's wardrobe, others by annuity, and some – such as William Latimer – with life enfeoffment in one of the earl's manors.<sup>113</sup>

Norfolk's retainers were sometimes paid directly from the profits of a manor. In 1324-25 William of Newport was paid the considerable wage of £125 11s. 7d. from the issues of Framlingham.<sup>114</sup> The extant evidence suggests, however, that Norfolk's favoured method was to grant lands to his followers, either for a specified number of years or for the duration of their lives. The Segrave manors granted to several of Norfolk's retainers until the majority of John Segrave have already been noted, as have the lifelong grants of the hundred of Loose in Suffolk to Thomas Pabenham and the manor of Earsham in Norfolk to John Fourneux.<sup>115</sup> Another retainer, William Giffard, was given life enfeoffment in the manor of Haseley in Oxfordshire, which brought in a revenue of around £30 per annum.<sup>116</sup> According to the inquiry into Norfolk's household by Constantine Mortimer in 1337, William Giffard had also been granted the manor of Suffield in Norfolk by his lord, worth an additional 100 marks per annum. Norfolk had also granted meadow in the park of Earsham worth £22 to one of his second wife's relatives, Peter Brewes. In fact, it was found that Norfolk had granted lands, farms and rents worth a total of £314 13s. 4d. per annum to fourteen of his family members and followers. Constantine Mortimer clearly felt that this was beyond Norfolk's means, as he ordered all of these grants to be repealed and the lands and rents to be restored to the earl, in aid of his sustenance.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 308-10.

<sup>113</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 41-3.

<sup>114</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 66.

<sup>115</sup> See above, 143-4, 148, 155.

<sup>116</sup> TNA SC8/48/2390.

<sup>117</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2.



By making lifelong grants of manors to his followers, Norfolk did incur the risk that some of them might fail to fulfil their obligations to him, and yet they would still have a legal claim to the lands. There is, though, only one surviving example of a land dispute between Norfolk and one of his retainers. In about 1334, Robert Morley and his wife Joan brought a plea of novel disseisin against Norfolk concerning the manor of Earsham, which they claimed he had granted to them for life. There is not enough extant evidence to ascertain why Norfolk then seized back this manor, and the dispute was in any case peaceably settled when they accepted in compensation an area of great marsh in Halvergate, Norfolk, and quitclaimed all of their rights to Earsham.<sup>118</sup>

Like laymen, Norfolk's clerks might also expect to receive a lifelong grant of land. For instance John Wyght, his clerk and parson of South Walsham, was granted lands in Hollesley and Shotesham, East Anglia, to hold for life in return for an annual rent of 11s. 7d.<sup>119</sup> More commonly, however, clerks would be rewarded with valuable benefices. Norfolk rewarded the hard work of Master John Claxton, keeper of the wardrobe in his childhood household, by presenting him to the benefice of Great Chesterford in Essex.<sup>120</sup> William of Newport, Claxton's successor, had similarly been rewarded by January 1326 with the benefice of Radenhale in Norfolk.<sup>121</sup> Because presentations to benefices were so valuable as a means of rewarding clerks, the king and his magnates guarded them jealously. Edward III had to revoke presentations that he had made to the churches of both Clopton and Newnham because Norfolk complained that the advowsons of those churches belonged to him.<sup>122</sup>

In addition to these financial remunerations, Norfolk was also able to further the prospects of his retainers in the service of the Crown. Not only could he use his influence to find them positions on royal commissions, as marshal of England he was

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<sup>118</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 97.

<sup>119</sup> TNA C66/193, m. 19, calendared in *CPR, 1338-1340*, 104-5.

<sup>120</sup> *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, 289.

<sup>121</sup> *CPR, 1324-1327*, 205.

<sup>122</sup> *CCR, 1327-1330*, 321, 326; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 274.



also able to reward a number of his followers with offices in the king's marshalsea. He had the right to appoint a deputy marshal and a clerk within the king's household, as well as subordinates in the exchequer, the court of king's bench, the court of common pleas, and the fleet prison. Members of Norfolk's affinity who were rewarded with these valuable offices included Richard and Henry Grey, Walter Mauny, Gregory Chastel, Geoffrey Quincy, Peter Bordet and Ambrose of Newbury.<sup>123</sup>

Norfolk's retainers might also reasonably expect him to use his influence to win them royal favours or pardons, or to assist them in disputes. In 1321 the sheriff of Essex was granted a royal pardon for having allowed a prisoner to escape from Colchester Castle through Norfolk's intervention, and similarly in 1323 a certain Peter Bucsbyn of Norfolk was pardoned of conspiracies and trespasses at Norfolk's request.<sup>124</sup> He also consistently upheld the rights of his long-serving butler, Gassocus Ruele, to lands in Kent and Suffolk. These lands had been granted to Ruele by Queen Margaret as a reward for his service prior to her death in 1318. When Margaret's lands were passed to Queen Isabella this grant was renewed, probably at Norfolk's request. Following the coup of 1330, however, Isabella's estates were confiscated, and Edward III granted the lands in question to John of Florence. It was as a result of Norfolk's petitions that the lands were restored to Ruele in 1331 for the duration of his life, and that in 1334 this grant was extended to include his heirs.<sup>125</sup>

The bonds within Norfolk's affinity and the rewards open to his followers were incentive enough to ensure that many of them served him loyally for lengthy periods of time. Indeed some of his followers who served him during his adult life had earlier been members of his childhood household, which he had shared with his brother until 1312. William of Newport, Ambrose of Newbury, William Bas, Peter Bordet and Richard More had all held positions in his childhood household and continued to serve Norfolk

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<sup>123</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 189; *CCR, 1327-1330*, 150, 177; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 40, 179.

<sup>124</sup> *CPR, 1321-1324*, 27, 298.

<sup>125</sup> *TNA SC8/143/7117*; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 184; *CPR, 1334-1338*, 21.



into the 1320s or 1330s.<sup>126</sup> Similarly other members of the childhood household, such as John Golde and Roger Wellesford, followed into the service of Edmund of Kent.<sup>127</sup> Many of Norfolk's other retainers can be shown to have served him for much of his adult life. Sir Robert Aspale, for instance, can be traced as a member of Norfolk's affinity for around a decade. In a letter (which was probably written in early 1322), Norfolk wrote to William Airmyn requesting protection for his '*trescher Bachelor*' Robert Aspale, who he had sent to Sussex and Wales '*en grosses busoignes*', and who was therefore unable to answer the king's summons to muster at Coventry.<sup>128</sup> In August 1323 Aspale acted as one of the witnesses of the charter whereby Norfolk granted Chepstow to Despenser the younger, and he also served as his steward in 1324-25 and as his attorney in April 1330.<sup>129</sup> Even longer serving were Sir Robert Ufford, Sir John Verdon and Sir William Giffard, who all accompanied Norfolk to Scotland in 1322 and who were still acting as witnesses to various of his deeds during the later 1330s.<sup>130</sup>

Of course not all of Norfolk's retainers would have been life-long servants. For a significant number of those individuals issued with protections for accompanying Norfolk to France in 1320 and to Scotland in 1322, there is no further indication that they continued in his service. It is hardly surprising that men who were contracted by Norfolk for a specific campaign or expedition would serve other lords during their lifetime. Richard Ryvere, for instance, accompanied Norfolk to Scotland in 1322, but was also retained by Pembroke in 1313, 1318 and 1322, and served as Henry of Lancaster's steward of Kidwelly in Wales in 1308, 1319 and 1322.<sup>131</sup> There are, though, few examples amongst Norfolk's retainers of individuals who served other magnates whilst still in receipt of his fees, and certainly none of his more prominent retainers did

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<sup>126</sup> CPR, 1321-1324, 187; CPR, 1317-1321, 189, 427. See also Appendix 2.

<sup>127</sup> CPR, 1317-1321, 419, 435.

<sup>128</sup> TNA, SC1/36/8.

<sup>129</sup> CCR, 1323-1327, 168; CPR, 1321-1324, 402; CPR, 1327-1330, 508; BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 64, 70.

<sup>130</sup> Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, HD1538/202/1/127; HD1538/202/1/128; CPR, 1321-1324, 187; CPR, 1334-1338, 236.

<sup>131</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 256-7.



so. This was also the conclusion of Saul, who found that although many of the Gloucestershire gentry did serve more than one lord during their lifetimes, it was usually in succession rather than at the same time, and that many men served their lords for a long duration.<sup>132</sup>

Although few of Norfolk's retainers served other magnates whilst in receipt of his fees, many of them were servants of the Crown at one time or another, as previously noted. This might be in an official capacity as a sheriff or justice, as a commissioner, or even as a member of the king's household. Where an individual served both his lord and the Crown at the same time, this could lead to bribery and corruption. Lancaster paid fees to the king's *narratores*, and gave liveries to his justices in 1318-19. His retainers would also often be given commissions of oyer and terminer in cases in which Lancaster himself had an interest.<sup>133</sup> At least two of his followers acted as sheriff while in his service, and later in the century twenty-four of Gaunt's retainers also served as sheriffs.<sup>134</sup> Although there is no extant evidence to show that any of Norfolk's retainers served as either justice or sheriff while in receipt of his fees, his followers did act as commissioners in cases of oyer and terminer in which he had a vested interest. On 16 August 1327, for example, a commission of oyer and terminer was given to Richard Grey, Robert Aspale and Richard Wylughby, on complaint by Norfolk that his park at Bretby in Derbyshire had been broken into and that his deer had been hunted and taken away.<sup>135</sup> Retainers who served as jurors on pertinent cases could also be used as a means to corrupt or delay cases. Isolda Inge, who brought a case against Norfolk before the king's justices in 1337 regarding her free tenement in Edworth, Bedfordshire, later complained that the original jury had been changed by force – presumably by Norfolk's

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<sup>132</sup> Saul, *Knights and Esquires*, 93-5.

<sup>133</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 49-50.

<sup>134</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 63; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, 241.

<sup>135</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 206.



men.<sup>136</sup> Furthermore, when Norfolk, Robert Scales and Gilbert Peach petitioned the king for an enquiry into the lands lately held by Robert Todenham in 1338, the sheriff of Suffolk found that it was impossible to assemble a jury because there were no knights in the county who were not kinsmen, tenants or feed retainers of the three petitioners.<sup>137</sup>

What conclusions can be made about early fourteenth-century aristocratic society and about Norfolk himself from this evaluation of his family and affinity? His marriages to Alice Hales and Mary Brewes were unsuccessful in terms of increasing his wealth and national influence, and in creating a lasting dynasty. Although Alice did give birth to one son, Edward, he predeceased his father. Norfolk, it should be noted, was not alone in this misfortune. Writing of the twelfth century, Given-Wilson has commented that ‘a surprising feature of the Anglo-Norman aristocracy...is the failure of any really great families to emerge that might vie in wealth and status with the great peers of France, or the dukes and margraves of Germany. One reason for this was the failure of English royal cadets to found dynasties which endured’.<sup>138</sup> It was also a particular problem of the early fourteenth century. Of Norfolk’s contemporaries, the earls of Lincoln, Cornwall, Gloucester, Lancaster, Pembroke, and Warenne all died without direct male heirs. Of course dynastic failures such as these provided opportunities for the elevation of new men into the peerage – individuals such as William Montague and Robert Ufford, who received their earldoms in 1337. They did not, though, provide any form of social stability within the aristocracy, and given the vagaries of dynastic fortunes, the nobility of the fourteenth century increasingly turned to innovations such as the jointure. In many cases the jointure proved to be a successful method whereby estates could be preserved in the family. However, it also contributed towards the difficulties caused by a proliferation of enormously wealthy dowagers, who included

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<sup>136</sup> TNA SC8/119/5904. Norfolk later seems to have promised to compensate Isolda with 100 marks. Four of his retainers acknowledged this debt to her on Norfolk’s behalf in August 1338: *CCR, 1337-1339*, 521.

<sup>137</sup> TNA SC8/131/6548; *CIPM*, viii. 94-7; Holmes, *Estates*, 82-3, n. 1.

<sup>138</sup> Given-Wilson, *English Nobility*, 9.



Norfolk's second wife Mary and, later in the fourteenth century, his daughter Margaret. The marriages of Norfolk's children were undoubtedly more successful than his own. The betrothal of his son to Beatrice Mortimer provided him with much needed impunity in early 1330, and although the alliance with William Montague may not have won Norfolk as much influence as he had hoped, it does at the very least demonstrate some political acumen. The marriages of Edward and Alice were, though, expensive – only Margaret's marriage to John Segrave did not result in the loss of a parcel of land. These were important considerations since the revenue from Norfolk's estates funded the princely lifestyle that he had been brought up to expect, as well as his considerable contingent of knights, officials and servants, who all expected a fee in return for their services.

Norfolk's affinity was probably one of the largest of the early fourteenth century, with the exception of that belonging to Thomas of Lancaster. The majority of his followers were recruited from the East Anglian region, and his power and influence in this area would have had particular political significance at the time of the invasion led by Isabella and Mortimer in 1326. The strength of his affinity was based upon reciprocity, and its vigour was heightened by geographical, familial and tenorial ties, with many retainers serving for considerable periods. Affinities such as Norfolk's certainly enabled magnates to oppose the Crown in the early fourteenth century, but baronial opposition during this period should be blamed on poor governance rather than livery and maintenance. The evidence suggests that Norfolk was a generous lord, but the size of his affinity and the rewards expected by his followers would clearly have impacted upon his estates and finances, and this will be examined further in the following chapter.



## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **Estates and Finances**

The power, prestige and influence of any magnate of the medieval period were based upon his estates and the revenue yielded by them. It is revealing that the most powerful magnate of the early fourteenth century, Thomas of Lancaster, was also the richest with five earldoms to his name, whilst his contemporary, Robert Vere, earl of Oxford, held few estates and was conspicuous only by his absence from politics.<sup>1</sup> The early fourteenth century is a particularly interesting period in terms of seigneurial estate administration: demesne farming had reached its peak in the late thirteenth century, and high population levels, famine, animal murrain, warfare and taxation all contributed towards a downturn in the medieval economy. Some historians have gone so far as to refer to this period as one of ‘crisis’ before the Black Death, although not all scholars are agreed as to the extent of the ‘crisis’ or its causes.<sup>2</sup> Within this context, the present chapter intends to examine Norfolk’s approaches to lordship in three very diverse geographical areas – England, Ireland and Wales.

The task in question is by no means an easy one. Not even Norfolk’s inquisition post mortem is complete – only the original London return was preserved by the king’s ministers, although a fragmented copy of the Suffolk return can also be found at Berkeley Castle Muniments.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, although seigneurial estate documents begin to survive in some quantity from the mid thirteenth century onwards, they are still most commonly found in cases where estates escheated to the Crown, when such records were retained by the king’s ministers. This is abundantly clear from a comparison of

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<sup>1</sup> This comparison is also been made in Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, ‘Agrarian Problem’, 1-9; B. M. S. Campbell, *English Seigneurial Agriculture 1250-1450* (Cambridge, 2000), 16-25; Harvey, ‘Introduction: The ‘Crisis’ of the Early Fourteenth Century’, 1-24; I. Kershaw, ‘The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England, 1315-22’, in R. H. Hilton (ed.), *Peasants, Knights and Heretics: Studies in Medieval Social History* (Cambridge, 1976), 85-32.

<sup>3</sup> TNA E152/1/25, calendared in *CIPM*, viii. 154; BCM, Select Inquisitions, 13.



Norfolk's extant estate accounts with those of his predecessor as earl of Norfolk, Roger Bigod IV. When Roger Bigod died in late 1306 his earldom reverted to the Crown, and his estates were managed by the king's ministers for a period of six years. This is no doubt the reason why nearly a hundred accounts from his Irish lordship alone have survived.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, when Norfolk died in 1338 his estates were divided between his second wife and his two daughters. His manorial accounts (if they were retained at all) would have become scattered, and as a result only one of his estate records – an account roll for Framlingham Castle in Suffolk from 1324-25 – is still in existence.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, enough evidence has survived to enable valuable conclusions to be made about Norfolk's attitudes towards lordship, and this in turn is revealing as to the differing problems faced by lords and their officials in England, Ireland and Wales.

Before looking in detail at the three regions in which Norfolk held estates, it is worth outlining exactly what lands he owned and how much they were worth. The great majority of his estates pertained to the earldom of Norfolk, which had been granted to him in December 1312. In the time of his predecessor, Roger Bigod IV, the earldom of Norfolk consisted of the lordships of Carlow in Ireland and Chepstow in the March of Wales, and a total of forty-one manors in England, which were situated in the counties of Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Sussex and Yorkshire. Bigod also possessed a number of small hamlets, messuages and tenements, and knights' fees were held of him in a total of eleven counties.<sup>6</sup> In 1302 Bigod surrendered all of these lands to the king and received them back in fee tail (for reasons discussed above),<sup>7</sup> with the exception of six manors. Edward I gave Bigod permission to grant these six manors (Settrington, Wilton, Thornton and Levisham in Yorkshire, and

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<sup>4</sup> These accounts can be found at TNA SC6 (Ministers Accounts). For a full list and further discussion of the accounts, see Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', 85 (1955), 62-76, especially 65 n. 9.

<sup>5</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552; *Medieval Framlingham*, 51-85.

<sup>6</sup> Bigod's inquisition post mortem is extensive and comprises forty-five membranes of parchment: TNA C133/127. The published version does contain omissions, although these are mostly lists of tenants: *CIPM*, iv. 290-310.

<sup>7</sup> See above, 45-6.



Acle and Caister in Norfolk) to whomsoever he wished.<sup>8</sup> When Norfolk was granted the earldom in 1312, therefore, it comprised the lordships of Carlow and Chepstow, and thirty-five manors in England. He did not, however, gain full seisin of the earldom until after the death of Roger Bigod's wife, Alice, in October 1317. Alice's dower (which she had been assigned in February, June and July 1307), consisted of one manor in Hertfordshire; seven manors in Norfolk and a messuage in Great Yarmouth; five manors in Suffolk and a quay and some houses in Ipswich; the manor of Balisax, the town of Rospont, and some demesne lands at Fodereth, in Ireland; and various advowsons of churches and knights' fees in both England and Ireland. She also held one manor in Cambridgeshire and another in Essex for life by jointure.<sup>9</sup>

Norfolk made very few other acquisitions during his lifetime. He received periodic gifts from the king, such as the town of Curton and some forfeited lands in Ireland in 1313, a few houses in London in 1318, and the manors of Ryburgh and Fundenhall in Norfolk in 1326 and 1330, but these were relatively minor grants.<sup>10</sup> The patronage 'policies' of Edward II and Edward III, combined with Norfolk's unambitious marriages and his lack of favour during much of the 1320s and 1330s, meant that he was particularly unsuccessful in extending his landholdings. The only other truly significant acquisition made by Norfolk was the parcel of lands and rents granted to him in March 1327 as a reward for his support of Isabella and Mortimer. This grant, worth 1,000 marks, consisted of the manors of Deddington, Pyrton, Kirtlington, Haseley, Henton and Ascot in Oxfordshire; Speen in Berkshire; Kneesall in Nottinghamshire; Datchet in Buckinghamshire; Great Barrow in Cheshire; Wykes in Essex; Long Bennington in Lincolnshire; and the town of Newnham in Gloucestershire. He also received a farm worth £25 7s. 11d. yearly from the town of Dunwich, and was

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<sup>8</sup> Bigod granted Settrington in Yorkshire to his brother, while the manor of Acle in Norfolk was given to the abbot and convent of Tintern: *CPR, 1301-1307*, 29-31.

<sup>9</sup> *CCR, 1307-1313*, 508-9, 511-513; *CFR, 1307-1319*, 551-2.

<sup>10</sup> *CChR, 1300-1326*, 376; *CFR, 1307-1319*, 185; *CFR, 1327-1337*, 196, 207; *CPR, 1324-1327*, 212.



pardoned £44 2s. that he owed yearly to the exchequer for his manor of Bosham in Sussex.<sup>11</sup>

Norfolk actually only held the lands and rents granted to him in 1327 for a period of five years, since he surrendered them to the king on 5 August 1332.<sup>12</sup> The following month Edward III transferred them to William Bohun, on the condition that the latter was to pay £800 per annum to Norfolk for the duration of his life.<sup>13</sup> Norfolk's surrender was certainly made willingly (in a letter written to Bohun in 1333 he said that it had been done with '*la volente et lassent de nous*'),<sup>14</sup> and it is probable that Norfolk viewed it as a means by which he could reverse his declining influence and popularity with his nephew, who needed lands with which to reward his 'new men'. His decision may also have been influenced by the difficulty that he had experienced in gaining seisin of the lands in the first place. In early 1331 Norfolk sent a petition to the king and his council in which he complained that he had been unable to enter the manors of Great Barrow and Datchet because the king had already previously granted the former to Roger Swynnerton, and the latter to Edmund Pynkeneye, and he asked to be assigned their value elsewhere. Norfolk had also been unable to take seisin of the town of Newnham because his charter wrongly stated that it had previously belonged to the earl of Winchester. Furthermore, he had been unable to gain the farm of £25 7s. 11d. from Dunwich because the king had already granted the townsmen an acquittal of this sum for the term of fourteen years.<sup>15</sup> As a result of Norfolk's petition, it was agreed that he should be given remedy for his complaints and on 23 January 1331 Edward III renewed the grant to him in fee tail of the town of Newnham. On the same day he granted to Norfolk the manor of Wycombe in Buckinghamshire worth £58, as well the farm of £18 8s. 8d. from the town, in recompense for the manors of Great Barrow and Datchet, and

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<sup>11</sup> TNA C53/114, m. 44, calendared in *CChR*, 1327-1341, 3-4.

<sup>12</sup> *CCR*, 1330-1333, 587.

<sup>13</sup> *CFR*, 1327-1337, 323-4; *CPR*, 1330-1334, 330, 333, 335.

<sup>14</sup> TNA DL25/3354.

<sup>15</sup> TNA SC1/31/65; TNA SC8/145/7208.



the farm from Dunwich. The relative values of these manors and farms meant that Norfolk was left with a deficit of £40 9s. 3d., and it did not mark the end of his difficulties<sup>16</sup> By November 1331 Walter and Margaret Heryng and John and Katherine Chiche were impleading Norfolk for the manor of Deddington in Oxfordshire, and the case was referred to the court of king's bench.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, it is clear that by January 1332 Norfolk had still not been able to gain seisin of the town of Newnham.<sup>18</sup> By surrendering all of the lands and rents granted to him in 1327, Norfolk ultimately damaged the long term prospects of his heirs. Nevertheless, it gave him an opportunity to win back royal favour whilst providing him with a solution to the difficulties he had experienced in gaining seisin of the properties. It also saved him the cost of managing the manors directly, and in return he was to receive the sum of £800 a year for the remainder of his life, which (given that the manors had originally been valued at 1,000 marks, or £666) was a more than reasonable figure.

Turning to the value of Norfolk's estates, his earldom was assessed at 6,000 marks (or the equivalent of £4,000) in 1306.<sup>19</sup> Although Norfolk did not gain seisin of all the properties granted to him in 1327, his annual revenue would clearly have increased at this time, probably to over £4,500. This would certainly have made him one of the richest magnates in the kingdom. By comparison, Thomas of Lancaster's five earldoms provided him with an enormous annual revenue of about £11,000, making him by far the wealthiest of the earls in early fourteenth-century England.<sup>20</sup> The estates belonging to Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester, were also considerable, and were worth about £6,000 per annum before their division between his sisters in 1317. The earldom of Cornwall may similarly have brought in a yearly revenue of between £5,000 and

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<sup>16</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 45, 50.

<sup>17</sup> *CCR, 1330-1333*, 369.

<sup>18</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 247.

<sup>19</sup> *Foedera*, i.(ii), 998.

<sup>20</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 23.



£6,000.<sup>21</sup> The earldom of Pembroke in 1324, however, was worth considerably less at around £3,000 per annum, and the majority of contemporary earldoms probably brought in a gross annual revenue of about £2,000 or £3,000.<sup>22</sup>

Norfolk was fortunate – and unusual – in that his estates did not provide his only source of income. The marshalship of England, granted to him in February 1316, also entitled him to fees and emoluments which should be taken into account. The marshal had originally been a member of the king's household who was entitled to wages, and although the office had moved out of court long before the early fourteenth century, Norfolk was still entitled to receive these fees. In 1317 Edward II ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to examine the records in order to determine what fees the marshal had received in times past, and ordered that they should be paid to Norfolk. In response, the exchequer officials replied that he should be given '2s. a day if he eat outside the house, and a (small) simnel loaf, and a sextary of ordinary wine, and a wax taper and 24 candle-ends; and if he eat within the house, 14d. and a half sextary of ordinary wine, and sufficient candle'.<sup>23</sup> Clearly these wages and provisions alone would have added only insignificantly to the income of a magnate such as Norfolk – exactly the same emoluments were listed in the *Constitutio Domus Regis* in the twelfth century, showing that the fees pertaining to the marshalship had not increased over time.<sup>24</sup> On the Scottish campaign in 1300 the constable of England, Humphrey Bohun, earl of Hereford, was paid on the basis of the wages set down in the *Constitutio Domus Regis*, and received a mere £17 5s. 9d.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, Norfolk did expect to receive the fees of his office, and furthermore, these were not the only perquisites to which he was entitled. In 1330 Norfolk petitioned the king and council at Winchester, complaining that he had

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<sup>21</sup> M. Altschul, *A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314* (Baltimore, 1965), 204-5.

<sup>22</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 243.

<sup>23</sup> CCR, 1313-1318, 558.

<sup>24</sup> *Dialogus de Scaccario, The Course of the Exchequer, and Constitutio Domus Regis, The King's Household*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1950), 133-4.

<sup>25</sup> M. Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance under Edward I* (Aldershot, 1972), 263.



not been receiving the emoluments due to him. As in 1317, the king ordered the treasurer and barons of the exchequer to examine the traditional rights of the marshal of England, and their reply – which survives in conjunction with the original petition – is of great interest. The exchequer officials once again repeated the fees listed in the *Constitutio Domus Regis*, but also added further details. These included the robes to which Norfolk was entitled in his capacity as earl marshal, as well as his right to amercements arising from the court of the verge. The reply also described his right to take payments from all men who paid homage to the king – £10 from each earl, 100s. from every baron, and 5 marks from every knight.<sup>26</sup> Some of these entitlements can also be found in a note outlining the fees of the earl marshal, which was drawn up in about 1307. This document corroborates the marshal's rights to take payments from all men paying homage to the king. He was also to have unspecified fees pertaining to the marshalship in the exchequer and the court of king's bench, and payments from prisoners in his custody.<sup>27</sup>

Over the course of a normal year, the marshal of England was clearly entitled to a variety of payments, but of the greatest importance financially were the perquisites that he could expect during times of war. A very short statement on the rights of the marshal (only four lines long and possibly drawn up by Roger Bigod IV), claimed that when a castle or town was taken, the marshal ought to have the money and armour of the commander of the garrison. From any town that was taken, he was entitled to two tuns of wine, a length of the best cloth, and '*un tent de ore*'.<sup>28</sup> According to the document drawn up in 1307, the marshal should have '*le meillour iuel apres le roi et le conestable*' when a castle was taken by force or surrendered. He should also have all

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<sup>26</sup> The petition (TNA SC8/295/14730A) is badly faded and damaged on the right side. The reply from the barons of the Exchequer (TNA SC8/295/14730B) is in slightly better condition. A later copy of the petition and the reply given (BL Cotton Titus CI, fos 129r-v) has also survived.

<sup>27</sup> 'Document Concerning the Fees of the Earl Marshal', in *Select Cases in the Court of King's Bench under Edward I*, ed. G. O. Sayles, 3 vols. (London, 1936-9), i. cxliv-cl; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, 236 n. 3.

<sup>28</sup> TNA C47/2/21/23; Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, 263, n. 3.



particoloured beasts without horns taken as spoils of war, and amercements arising from pleas of the army, except from those in receipt of the king's robes.<sup>29</sup> The Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable gives even greater detail about the rights of the marshal in times of war. Although this document cannot be found in any manuscripts dating before the reign of Richard II, it gives an indication as to the types of perquisites that Norfolk might have expected whilst on campaign in the early fourteenth century.<sup>30</sup> According to this tract, the marshal was entitled to all particoloured beasts and gelded animals taken as spoils of war. When castles or towns were captured, all silver vessels, linen cloths, coverlets, drapes, table cloths, cloaks and other items of clothing, were to belong to him. The marshal was also entitled to 4d. per week from every merchant, tailor, barber, prostitute or other individual setting up stall to buy or sell wares within the army camp. Furthermore, he was to have the amercements and forfeitures resulting from pleas of the army, and any profit from individuals held in the prison – including those who escaped during the hours of the watch and who were subsequently recaptured. In what appears to be a relatively equal division of booty, the marshal's counterpart, the constable, was to have 4d. per week from merchants and prostitutes, and it was he who set the assize on all wine and ale sold in camp. He took fees from the pleas of the army, all items of armour taken in enemy towns and castles, as well as hornless beasts, unshod horses and pigs. In order to safeguard their rights to this booty, the treatise also decreed that both the marshal and constable should have a knight or a squire acting as their deputy in each battalion, whose duty it was to lay claim to the spoils pertaining to them.<sup>31</sup>

It is impossible to put a precise figure on the financial value of the marshalship of England in the early fourteenth century, and it would probably have varied considerably each year according to factors such as the frequency and success of

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<sup>29</sup> 'Document Concerning the Fees of the Earl Marshal', cxliv-cl.

<sup>30</sup> The date and relevance of the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable is discussed further in Appendix 4, where a transcript of the document is also provided.

<sup>31</sup> BL Cotton MS Nero D VI, fos 85r-86v (Appendix 4).



military campaigns, or the number and status of individuals paying homage to the king. An idea as to the value of the spoils of war to which the marshal was entitled is provided by an agreement between the king and the marshal, Roger Bigod IV, in 1301. Bigod himself took no part in military campaigns after 1300, but agreed that his deputy, John Segrave, should be paid £100 in place of the booty to which he was entitled during the Scottish campaign of 1301.<sup>32</sup> It would seem plausible to suggest that, during a year in which a successful campaign was fought, the combined fees, emoluments and spoils to which the marshal of England was entitled during times of both peace and war might have provided an income of several hundred pounds. This would have been a valuable addition to the revenue produced by Norfolk's estates alone.

Having outlined the lands held by Norfolk and his revenue, the three regions in which his estates lay will now be examined in more detail, beginning with those in England. Norfolk was fortunate that, like Lancaster, the majority of his English estates were geographically compact. Of the thirty-five manors inherited from Roger Bigod IV, a total of twenty-six were in Norfolk and Suffolk. These were Banham, Dickleburgh, Ditchingham, Earsham, Forncett, Earl Framingham, Framingham Pigot, Halvergate, Hanworth, Lopham, Suffield, South Walsham, and Tacolneston in Norfolk; and Bungay, Cratfield, Doningworth, Framlingham, Hacheston, Hollesley, Hoo, Kelsale, Peasenhall, Earl Soham, Staverton, Earl Stonham and Walton in Suffolk. He also held the half-hundred of Earsham and a messuage in Great Yarmouth, and a quay and some houses in Ipswich. The other nine manors inherited from Bigod were Hamstead Marshall in Berkshire; Kennett in Cambridgeshire; Dovercourt and Great Chesterford (and a messuage and some pastureland at Romford) in Essex; and Bosham, Funtington, Stoke, Stockton and Thorney in Sussex. The fact that the majority of his manors lay in Norfolk and Suffolk, and that the others lay in the south-eastern counties, made the

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<sup>32</sup> Prestwich, *War, Politics and Finance*, 267.



administration of his estates both cheaper and easier. One receivership at Framlingham Castle sufficed for all of the East Anglian manors, and it is probable that only one other receivership based at Bosham in Sussex was necessary – this was certainly the case in the time of Roger Bigod IV.<sup>33</sup>

Due to the survival of the manorial account for Framlingham Castle from Michaelmas 1324 to Michaelmas 1325, both the administration and the economy of this manor can be outlined in some detail. The manuscript itself comprises three membranes of parchment joined at top and bottom to form a roll, and is written in a neat though somewhat cramped hand. The document is in good condition (although with frequent deletions and amendments resulting from the accounting process), and has been edited by Ridgard.<sup>34</sup> It was compiled by the collector, Roger Anneys, two reeves named John Newall and Roger Aleyn, and two haywards named John Heved and John Capoun. By the early fourteenth century manorial accounts were already highly standardized, and in format the Framlingham account is typical. The front of the roll records all cash transactions conducted during the year under two major headings – receipts and expenses. The receipts section begins with arrears (the amount owed by officials from the previous year), and then details all major sources of income such as rents, perquisites of lordship (including court issues, mill-suit, the sale of customary works, and herbage and pannage), issues of the manor (including the sale of cereals, livestock, hides and dead wood), and foreign receipts (money received from other manors within the receivership). The sum total of receipts is then followed by the expenses section, which covers items such as uncollectable or vacant rents, building works, the purchase of grain and livestock, wages and foreign expenditure. The dorse of the account lists the flow of cereals and livestock into, within, and out of, the manor, and ends with an account of all customary works performed by the tenants.

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<sup>33</sup> Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, 45.

<sup>34</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552; *Medieval Framlingham*, 51-85.



Manorial accounts such as the Framlingham document present many problems in terms of historical analysis. Accounts of this period do not represent an attempt to record actual profit and loss in the modern sense. This is clear from the fact that the receipts section included arrears and foreign receipts, whilst uncollectable rents, foreign wages and foreign expenses were counted as expenditure. Furthermore, not every item of profit was always recorded, and in instances where cereals or livestock were sold to the lord's household (a frequent occurrence) the profit was more nominal than actual. Even if one deducts the arrears, foreign receipts and foreign expenses from the account, the balance arrived at does not represent the actual amount of profit that was paid to the lord from the manor, since much of this was subsequently allowed, respited, or fell into arrears.<sup>35</sup> Further problems arise when only a solitary account from a given manor survives. There is no way to tell how typical the Framlingham account for 1324-25 is in terms of profit and loss for the period when it was owned by Norfolk. In fact, the account refers on several occasions to a great drought (*magna siccitata*) during the summer and autumn, which had prevented animals from being pastured in the park at Bradley Wood, and which had resulted in greater expenditure on ploughing implements and on digging ponds. The account also notes that twelve animals died of murrain (a generic term rather than a specific disease), which may or may not have been an unusually high number.<sup>36</sup> Taking these difficulties into account, the Framlingham roll reveals a great deal about the administrative and economic life of the manor under Norfolk's ownership, and can be usefully analysed in conjunction with an account from the same manor dating to 1286-87 during the Bigod era, which has also been edited by Ridgard.<sup>37</sup> Figure 3 below compares the various receipts and expenses of Framlingham manor in 1286-87 and 1324-25.

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<sup>35</sup> Bailey, *English Manor*, 97-101; Campbell, *English Seigniorial Agriculture*, 26-37; Denholm-Young, *Seigniorial Administration*, 126-7.

<sup>36</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r, 2r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 54, 55, 63-4.

<sup>37</sup> *Medieval Framlingham*, 21-47.



|                             | <u>1286-1287</u>      | <u>1324-1325</u>       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|
|                             |                       |                        |
| <b>RECEIPTS</b>             |                       |                        |
| Arrears                     | £38 3s. 2¼d.          | £19 6s. 7d.            |
| Fixed Rents                 | £29 19s. ½d.          | £30 17s. 3¾d.          |
| Escheats                    | 13s. 1d.              | Nil                    |
| Tallage                     | £8 13s. 4d.           | £8 13s. 4d.            |
| Chevage                     | 6s. 8d.               | 6s. 8d.                |
| Sale of Customary Works     | £5 16s. 2½d.          | £7 5¾d.                |
| Perquisites of Court        | £5 6s. 6½d.           | £7 5d.                 |
| Mill & Market Tolls         | £16                   | £23                    |
| Herbage & Pannage           | £2 5s. 7d.            | £39 4s. 10d.           |
| Sale of Cereals             | £26 1s. 6d.           | £56 7s. 2d             |
| Sale of Livestock           | £1 7s. 5d.            | £3 8½d.                |
| Sale of Poultry             | £1                    | £4 2¾d.                |
| Sale of Hides               | 4s. 5½d.              | 10s. 11d.              |
| Sale of Dead Wood           | Nil                   | £24 13s. 9d.           |
| Issues of Dairy             | £3 12s.               | £5 12s. 6d.            |
| Issues of Manor             | Nil.                  | £9 10s. 8½d.           |
| Sales Beyond the Account    | £3 10s. 5¼d.          | £3 5s. 6½d.            |
| Foreign Receipts            | £8 10s. 6¼d.          | £39 8s. 2¾d.           |
| <b>Total Receipts</b>       | <b>£151 10s. ¾d.</b>  | <b>£281 19s. 4½d.</b>  |
|                             |                       |                        |
| <b>EXPENSES</b>             |                       |                        |
| Rent Resolute               | £2 12s. 5d.           | 9s. 4d.                |
| Decay of Rent               | 6s. 7d.               | 9s. 10¼d.              |
| Cereals Purchased           | £8 19s. 5d.           | £1 6s. 11½d.           |
| Beasts Purchased            | 11s.                  | £2 7s.                 |
| Upkeep of Ploughs           | £4 2s. 2¾d.           | £5 8s. 6d.             |
| Upkeep of Carts             | £1 5s. ¾d.            | £1 2s. 6¾d.            |
| Upkeep of Buildings & Walls | £1 3s. 1d.            | £2 11s. 2d.            |
| Upkeep of Mills             | £9 13s. 10½d.         | £6 19s. 4½d.           |
| Upkeep of Dairy             | 13s.                  | Nil                    |
| Upkeep of Parks & Meadow    | 2s.                   | £3 18s. 2d.            |
| Minutiae                    | £1 5s. 9¾d.           | £8 4s. 2½d.            |
| Allowances                  | Nil                   | £1 16s.                |
| Expense of Account          | £5 ¾d.                | 19s. 11¾d.             |
| Other Money Payments        | 2s. 5d.               | 13s. 4d.               |
| Wages & Livery              | £105 2s. 10¼d.        | £221 17s. 8¼d.         |
| Foreign Wages               | Nil                   | £6 19s.                |
| Foreign Expenses            | 6d.                   | £2 6s. 6½d.            |
| <b>Total Expenses</b>       | <b>£141 17s. 1¾d.</b> | <b>£267 3s. 1d.</b>    |
|                             |                       |                        |
| <b>BALANCE</b>              | <b>+ £9 12s. 11d.</b> | <b>+ £14 16s. 3½d.</b> |

**Figure 3. Receipts and Expenses, Framlingham Manor, 1286-87 and 1324-25<sup>38</sup>**

<sup>38</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552; *Medieval Framlingham*, 21-47, 51-85. For purposes of clarity, some items of receipt and expenditure are listed in a different order from that found in the original documents. The figures above may also differ slightly from those given in the original documents, since some have been amalgamated, and both the manuscript and edited version contain mistakes in accounting.



In the early fourteenth century, Framlingham consisted of the demesne farm and the borough, with a population (according to the estimates of Ridgard) of about 1,000 men, women and children.<sup>39</sup> A market was held within the borough on Tuesdays, Fridays and Saturdays, and there were two fairs at Michaelmas and Whitsun. The burgesses collectively paid £1 6s. in fixed rents per year, and the fact that both the borough and market were flourishing is indicated by the fact that in 1324-25 three 'foreign' burgesses were paying 4d. each per year for access to the market.<sup>40</sup> The customary tenants paid two primary customs – tallage and chevage – but were also expected to pay suit to the manorial court and to grind their corn at one of Norfolk's mills, for which they were charged. The most onerous duties owed by the customary tenants were no doubt the day works, which included tasks such as ploughing, reaping, mowing and malt-making. As one would expect in this period, a number of day works were sold in both the 1286-87 and 1324-25 accounts, but the majority were performed and were important to the running and profitability of the demesne farm.<sup>41</sup>

The most important manorial official at Framlingham was the collector, but a host of other officials were employed under his supervision. Also mentioned in the 1324-25 account are a bailiff and his deputy, a reeve, several haywards, a parker, a dairymaid and a swineherd. Other individuals, such as carpenters and coopers, were employed occasionally or seasonally. The other manors in Norfolk and Suffolk within the receivership were generally presided over by reeves. Transactions of cash, cereals and livestock between the manorial officials were sometimes made by means of tallies, but more often by a system referred to as 'starra'. This was also the case in the 1286-87 account.<sup>42</sup> According to Denholm-Young, payments made by starra are usually

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<sup>39</sup> *Medieval Framlingham*, 4-5.

<sup>40</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 17, 51-2.

<sup>41</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r, 2d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 22, 41-7, 51-3, 76-81.

<sup>42</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r-3r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 22-5, 51-66.



associated with the Jews during this period, and are rarely to be found in private accounts, with the exceptions of those pertaining to the Bigod and Norfolk estates.<sup>43</sup>

The economy of the demesne farm at Framlingham was primarily arable during both the Bigod and Norfolk eras. In 1324-25 the sale of cereals formed the most important source of profit, although the majority of the produce was sold to Norfolk's own use. Productivity in arable farming had increased markedly – in 1324-25 cereals created a revenue of £56 7s. 2d., as opposed to £28 18d. in 1286-87, when the sale of grain was only the third most important source of income behind arrears and rents.<sup>44</sup> The same increased productivity in arable can be found on other East Anglian manors in this period. At Wymondham in Norfolk, for instance, it has been found that there was a significant increase in the amount of grain grown between 1286 and 1345. The primary crops grown at Framlingham – wheat, barley, oats and malt – were also typical of the region.<sup>45</sup> In both accounts the sale of animals and poultry were relatively insignificant, and there was no specialized form of livestock husbandry on the manor. Horses, heifers, bulls, cows, oxen, deer, pigs and swans were all present either at Framlingham itself or the other manors within the receivership in 1324-25, but none in any great quantity. Hens were the most numerous animal – there were 457 within the receivership, and they produced 2,500 eggs over the course of the year. It would also seem that Norfolk was particularly partial to goose at his dinner table: out of 198 of these birds, 168 were sold to the lord's own use, and only six remained at the end of the year.<sup>46</sup> Despite the fact that sheep farming was already well established in Suffolk by the time of Domesday, there were no sheep at Framlingham at all in either 1286-87 or 1324-25. This is not to say that sheep farming was not practised on any of Norfolk's English manors – certainly there was a flock at Kennett in Cambridgeshire which accounted for a third of the

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<sup>43</sup> Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, 21.

<sup>44</sup> See Figure 3.

<sup>45</sup> J. Thirsk (ed.), *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 8 vols. (Cambridge, 1967-2000), ii. 294-5, 298.

<sup>46</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r, 1d; *Medieval Framlingham*, 55, 72-5.



profits from that manor under Roger Bigod IV.<sup>47</sup> As for the dairy, this brought in a profit of £3 12s. in 1286-87 and cost 13s. in upkeep, but it seems to have declined by the early fourteenth century. In 1324-25 there is no direct mention of a dairy, and instead it appears that twenty-two dairy cows were being rented out to tenants at a cost of 5s. per cow.<sup>48</sup>

After the issues from arable farming, the profits derived from the parkland in and around Framlingham formed the most important source of receipt in 1324-25. There were five parks in total – the Great Park at Framlingham itself, Oldfrith (now Wood Farm), Bradhaye (Bradley Wood), Buchehay (Botenhall Wood) and Newhaghe (Newall Wood).<sup>49</sup> The importance of the parks is clear from the salary of the parker himself, who received £6 15s. 8½d. in 1324-25, and whose duty it was to oversee the upkeep of the parks and the welfare of the game animals kept there. The majority of the profits derived from the parks were raised through herbage and pannage – payments paid by the tenantry for the right to pasture their cattle and pigs on their lord's land. Other money was also raised through the sale of dead wood. It is clear that the parks were being exploited to a much greater extent in 1324-25 than they had been under Roger Bigod IV, and in particular dues owed by tenants for herbage and pannage seem to have been collected more stringently. In 1286-87 herbage and pannage raised only £2 5s. 7d., in contrast to £39 4s. 10d. in 1324-25. The sale of dead wood does not feature at all in the earlier account roll, but brought in a profit of £24 13s. 9d. under Norfolk's officials.<sup>50</sup>

Although rents and the issues of lordship brought in a significant proportion of the total receipts, the profits raised from these items had increased very little between 1286-87 and 1324-25. Fixed rents, for instance, had only increased from £29 9s. 1½d. to

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<sup>47</sup> Thirsk (ed.), *Agrarian History*, 300; E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Medieval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348* (Harlow, 1978), 224.

<sup>48</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 55.

<sup>49</sup> *Medieval Framlingham*, 9.

<sup>50</sup> See Figure 3.



£30 17s. 3¾d. Tallage and chevage remained at the same level, and tolls from the mills and markets and the perquisites of court had increased only marginally. As Campbell has recently argued, tenants were far from powerless in preventing their lords from raising rents and customary dues, which often resulted in the preservation of the tenurial status quo, and the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century should not be so readily blamed on rapacious landlords who impoverished their tenants by demanding ever greater dues.<sup>51</sup> There is no doubt that there was a significant increase in the total amount of revenue generated at Framlingham between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but this was not due to rent-racking. In 1286-87 the total receipts amounted to £151 10s. ¾d., compared to £281 19s. 4¾ d. in 1324-25. The greater profits derived largely from a marked increase in arable productivity, greater exploitation of the parkland, and better economising. The 1324-25 account reveals that there was little wastage where profits or savings could be made. The hides of animals that had died of murrain were sold, although for a relatively small profit of 10s. 11d. Under the title Issues of the Manor were listed items such as a pair of old gates from the Grange, a millstone from one of the windmills, and worn timbers from the castle, which were all sold on for a profit. Wherever possible, old ploughing implements were repaired and reused to save on the expense of new implements, and land that was lying fallow was rented out for pasturing animals.<sup>52</sup>

Whilst the total receipts from Framlingham had increased dramatically between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, so had the total expenses, and consequently the net profit from the manor in 1324-25 was only actually a few pounds greater than that in 1286-87.<sup>53</sup> The increased arable productivity naturally necessitated greater expenditure on the upkeep of ploughs and the purchase of working animals, although only marginally so. The majority of the expenditure in 1324-25 in fact went on

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<sup>51</sup> Campbell, 'Agrarian Problem', 5-9, 40-44.

<sup>52</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r; *Medieval Framlingham*, 54-8.

<sup>53</sup> See Figure 3.



wages and liveries – a total of £220 18s. 4½d., not including foreign wages. Over half of this amount – £125 11s. 7d. – formed the wages of Norfolk's wardrober, William of Newport, who also received £74 10s. 8¾d. in recompense for victuals purchased by him.<sup>54</sup>

A comparison between the 1286-87 and 1324-25 accounts reveals a surprising degree of continuity in both the administration and economy of Framlingham between the Bigod and Norfolk eras, especially taking into consideration the six years during which the manor was in the hands of the Crown. This can be seen in terms of the use of starra in preference to tallies, and in the importance of arable farming and the lack of livestock husbandry. Of course there were some differences, such as the increased grain yields and the exploitation of the parks. The vineyards that had been established by the Bigods during the thirteenth century at Ditchingham and at Framlingham itself make no appearance in the 1324-25 account, which suggests that they had either been abandoned by Norfolk or were being rented out.<sup>55</sup> The similarities, though, are more notable than the differences, and the overall continuity in the running of the manor at Framlingham between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was no doubt due to the use of local men as officials.

The 1324-25 Framlingham account roll reveals that the manor had a vibrant and thriving economy at this time, and demonstrates that demesne farming was still a viable option – at least in eastern England – in the early fourteenth century. This goes some way towards corroborating the conclusion drawn by Mate, that despite the economic hardship of the early fourteenth century, many landlords in south-eastern England did not give up demesne farming in favour of leasing, and that instead they either collected

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<sup>54</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 1r. Ridgard's edition erroneously gives this figure as £74 8¾d.: *Medieval Framlingham*, 67.

<sup>55</sup> *Medieval Framlingham*, 15.



rents more assiduously or exploited non-agricultural sources of revenue.<sup>56</sup> How much the strength of the economy at Framlingham was due to Norfolk personally is open to question. References to payments, sales, allowances or building works being made *per litteram* or *per cartam domini Comititis* are quite frequent in the account roll, and no doubt Norfolk was kept well-informed as to the running of his various manors by his councillors. There is, though, only one reference in the document to Norfolk visiting the manor himself when hay had to be bought to feed his horses, and it may be that significant building works (which are hinted at in the account) prevented his long-term residence there at this time.<sup>57</sup> It is probable that many of the major decisions regarding the running of Framlingham were made by the manorial officials themselves.

Since no estate accounts from Norfolk's lordships of Chepstow or Carlow have survived, it is only possible to discuss his Welsh and Irish estates in more general terms. His lordship of Chepstow (in modern-day Monmouthshire) was situated on the very south-eastern edge of the March of Wales, or *Marchia Walliae*. In geographical terms, the March was a frontier zone between England and Wales whose borders (at least prior to the final conquest of Wales by Edward I) were highly fluid. It comprised a series of individual lordships carved out in Wales by Anglo-Norman barons in the centuries following the Conquest, excluding *pura Wallia* (lands retained by native Welsh princes) before 1282, and the Principality (held by the Crown) after the final conquest of Wales.<sup>58</sup> Chepstow was one of the oldest of the Marcher lordships, this area having already been conquered by 1086.<sup>59</sup> The *caput* of the lordship was Chepstow Castle itself, which in 1306 had a grange, demesne lands, a park, a chace, several watermills, and a borough. Attached to the castle were the appurtenant hamlets of Vyner,

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<sup>56</sup> M. Mate, 'The Agrarian Economy of South-East England before the Black Death: Depressed or Buoyant?', in Campbell (ed.), *Before the Black Death*, 107-9.

<sup>57</sup> BL Add. Ch. 16552, m. 2r. *Medieval Framlingham*, 4, 62.

<sup>58</sup> For the difficulties associated with a geographical definition of the March of Wales, see R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), 15-33.

<sup>59</sup> D. Walker, *The Norman Conquerors* (Swansea, 1977), 24.



Llandogyn, Talegarth, Wrenhalok, Henrew, Kemmeys, Penhow, Mesquenyth, Hedyngton, Pentirih and Hardwick. The lordship also included the castle and manor of Tidenham (in modern-day Gloucestershire) with its fishery, park and pastureland, and the appurtenant hamlet of Llancant. In Roger Bigod's inquisition post mortem the entire lordship was valued at £165 14s. 1½d. yearly, although this was probably an underestimate.<sup>60</sup>

The March of Wales was defined as much by its customs as by its geographical boundaries. Because Marcher lordships were held by right of conquest, and all lands within them (excepting Church estates) were held directly of the lord rather than from the Crown, Marcher lords claimed a variety of rights that pertained to the king in England.<sup>61</sup> Foremost of these was judicial autonomy – the king's writ did not run in the March of Wales, and the Marcher lords guarded their right to make laws, dispense justice to their tenants, and to collect all judicial profits.<sup>62</sup> Disputes between lordships were traditionally settled at 'days of the March', or 'love days', and should these negotiations fail, Marcher lords maintained their right to settle disagreements by means of private warfare.<sup>63</sup> Lordships within the March of Wales were usually exempt from royal taxation (although the Marchers did agree to a levy of a fifteenth in 1292 on condition that it would not be used as a precedent), and instead tenants were taxed for the profit of the lord. Furthermore, all wardships, marriages and escheats pertained to the lord, who was also able to create boroughs, fairs and markets and to impose tolls without reference to the king.<sup>64</sup> In addition, Marcher lords often retained native Welsh

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<sup>60</sup> TNA C133/127, m. 13r-16r, calendared in *CIPM*, iv. 290-310.

<sup>61</sup> For the important constitutional rights and liberties attached to the term *Marchia Walliae*, see K. Mann, 'The March of Wales: A Question of Terminology', *Welsh History Review*, 18 (1996), 1-13.

<sup>62</sup> In 1275 in the First Statute of Westminster, Edward I decreed that it was his sovereign right to do justice to all in the March of Wales who appealed to him over and above their lords, and after this date the king's justices did sometimes intervene in judicial Marcher affairs: R. R. Davies, 'The Law of the March', *Welsh History Review*, 5 (1970-1), 2-11; J. B. Smith, 'The Legal Position of Wales in the Middle Ages', in A. Harding (ed.), *Law Making and Law Makers* (London, 1980), 28-35.

<sup>63</sup> R. R. Davies, *Conquest, Coexistence and Change: Wales 1083-1415* (Oxford, 1987), 285; Davies, *Lordship*, 231-48.

<sup>64</sup> Davies, *Lordship*, 218-9.



customs and dues, as well as importing the dues owed by their tenants in England, and all of these factors combined to make Marcher lordships highly valuable territories.

Roger Bigod IV's inquisition post mortem describes many of the seigneurial rights claimed by him within his lordship, which Norfolk would no doubt also have exploited. Many of the customs owed by tenants in Chepstow were similar to those found at Framlingham in 1324-25. For instance, tenants in the Marcher lordship were expected to attend the lord's court, to grind their corn at one of his watermills, to pay for the right to pasture their animals on the lord's lands, to perform various works such as reaping in the autumn and the carriage of timber, and to pay a heriot of either 5s. or their best beast before they could inherit property. Other levies and customs, however, were inherited from traditional Welsh dues. When a tenant sold a horse, for example, he was expected to pay 2d. to the lord. Customary tenants in Tidenham owed one hen every Christmas by a due called 'wodehen'. Furthermore, if a tenant's daughter wished to marry, her family was to pay the lord 2s., and the same amount was payable for any daughter convicted of fornication under a fine known as 'leirwyte'.<sup>65</sup>

Marcher lords were naturally keen to guard their prerogatives, and this could lead to conflict with the Crown. Although Edward I was not entirely hostile to the customs of the March, he did assert his authority over the Marcher barons in a number of ways, particularly during the 1290s. The most famous case involved the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, who were involved in a violent feud over their respective lordships of Glamorgan and Brecon and who were fined and briefly imprisoned by the king, which clearly demonstrated that the Marchers should no longer expect complete impunity when waging private warfare.<sup>66</sup> In a series of other cases, Edward I asserted

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<sup>65</sup> TNA C133/127, m. 13r-16r, calendared in *CIPM*, iv. 290-310.

<sup>66</sup> Prestwich, *Edward I*, 348-51; Altschul, *Baronial Family*, 146-53.



his right to hold vacant temporalities in the March, which hitherto appears to have been a prerogative claimed by the Marcher lords through long established custom.<sup>67</sup>

Although neither Edward II nor Edward III pursued a consistent attempt to assert their rights over the Marchers, royal authority versus Marcher custom was nevertheless an issue that faced Norfolk. The primary source conflict between the Marcher barons and the Crown during the reign of Edward II was, of course, caused by the territorial ambitions of Despenser the younger in this region and Edward II's support of his favourite. In particular, Edward II's interference into succession of the lordship of Gower was seen by the Marchers as an infringement of their rights. It has been argued above that although Norfolk outwardly supported the king in the ensuing civil war, he did sympathize with the plight of his fellow Marchers, and that his divided loyalties caused a rift with the king that damaged his political influence for much of the rest of the reign.<sup>68</sup>

In 1334 and 1335 Norfolk was more directly affected by royal incursions into Marcher affairs. During the early 1330s the abbot of Tintern adopted a policy of raising the level of the weirs on the river Wye, with the result that boats and ships were unable to pass along the river to reach Monmouth, which was owned by Henry of Lancaster. Tintern Abbey was situated in Norfolk's lordship of Chepstow, and all of the weirs in question except one were ultimately held of him. Instead of settling the dispute by traditional Marcher methods such as holding a day of the March, Lancaster appealed to the king, and royal justices were appointed to investigate the matter. As Davies has noted, 'a Marcher lord would not stand on his Marcher dignity if he thought that royal justice would help him win his case'.<sup>69</sup> The king's justices found in favour of Lancaster, and as a result Norfolk lost the farm paid to him by the abbot of Tintern for the right to use the weirs. Norfolk appealed to Edward III against the decision, arguing that

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<sup>67</sup> Howell, 'Regalian Right', 269-88; Davies, *Lordship*, 254.

<sup>68</sup> See above, 78-82.

<sup>69</sup> Davies, *Lordship*, 253.



Chepstow lay within the March and that therefore the king's writ did not run there, but seemingly without success.<sup>70</sup>

The following year Norfolk again had complaint against the interference of the king's ministers in his lordship. This time, however, he joined with his fellow Marchers in requesting remedy from the king, and as a result he met with much greater success than in 1334. In 1335 Norfolk, Lancaster, Hereford, John Mowbray, William Montague, Hugh Audley and Elizabeth Burgh all jointly presented a petition to the king and his council in which they claimed that their tenants were being prosecuted in Gloucestershire and the other border counties for felonies committed within their own lordships. As a result, these tenants were being outlawed by the king's sheriffs and justices, and when they crossed into England on their lords' business they were immediately arrested and imprisoned. Norfolk and the other Marchers complained that they should be allowed to try these individuals in their own courts, and argued that they should not be outlawed by the king's officials. They asked for writs to be issued to the king's sheriffs and justices in the border counties to this effect. As a result of this petition, the Marcher lords were instructed to present their grievances in chancery, where writs under the great seal would be issued in remedy.<sup>71</sup> When Marcher lords acted in conjunction to uphold their liberties they could be a formidable force, and this issue was settled in their favour.

Although Irish lordships did not develop autonomy from the Crown to the same extent as those held in the March of Wales, they were nevertheless valuable territories that entitled their owners to profitable rights and privileges. Carlow had originally been a composite part of the much larger lordship of Leinster, first conquered by Richard Clare, or Strongbow. Upon Strongbow's death, Leinster passed to William Marshal by

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<sup>70</sup> Norfolk's petition (now badly damaged) can be found at TNA SC8/155/7711B, and is published in *Calendar of Ancient Petitions Relating to Wales*, ed. W. Rees (Cardiff, 1975), 257-8. See also *CCR, 1333-1337*, 304-5.

<sup>71</sup> TNA SC8/123/6140, published in *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 91,



right of his marriage to Strongbow's daughter, Isabella. When the Marshal family died out in the male line in 1245, Leinster was divided between the five Marshal heiresses, and the new lordship of Carlow was assigned to Matilda (William Marshal's eldest daughter) and her husband Hugh Bigod, from whence it eventually passed to Norfolk.<sup>72</sup> According to Nugent's calculations, the medieval lordship of Carlow was about 570 square miles in extent, comprising nearly all of the present-day county of Carlow and parts of modern Wexford, Leix and Kildare.<sup>73</sup> The lordship as inherited by Norfolk comprised the castle and county of Carlow with its appurtenant hamlets of Dunleck and Fynnauth, a castle and borough at Fothered and also at Hervey's Island (or Insula), the manors of Old Ross and Balisax, and the town of New Ross. It would seem that little money had been spent on the upkeep of the castles, manors and other buildings within the lordship by Roger Bigod IV. In his inquisition post mortem the castle at Carlow was described as in need of a new roof, and the nearby hall where the court was held was also in such a poor condition that no value could be assigned to it by the escheators. At Fothered there was a stone chamber which was almost razed to the ground, and at Balisax there was a ruined tower. The manor at Old Ross lacked a roof, as did the castle at Hervey's Island. Nevertheless, there were numerous tenants who paid their rents either in cash or in kind, and the perquisites of assize at Carlow alone were worth £40. The advowsons pertaining to the lordship were valued at an additional £38, and 35½ knights' fees were held of Bigod. As a whole the lordship was valued at £343 1½d., although this was almost certainly an underestimate on the part of the king's ministers since the accounts of the lordship reveal an annual gross income of around £750 during the late thirteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', 62-3.

<sup>73</sup> Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', 62-5.

<sup>74</sup> TNA C133/127, m. 32r-37d, calendared in *CIPM* iv. 304-9; G. H. Orpen, *Ireland under the Normans 1169-1333*, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1911-20), iii. 84-5; Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', 64-5; Denholm-Young, *Seignorial Administration*, 45-6.



Although none of the Carlow estate accounts survive from the period when Norfolk held the lordship, it is probable that the revenues generated were steadily decreasing during the early fourteenth century. Orpen has suggested that in Norfolk's hands the lordship 'soon became much depreciated in value'.<sup>75</sup> This comment should not necessarily be taken as a criticism of Norfolk himself, since royal revenues had also been decreasing since the time of Edward I. In the early years of Edward I's reign Ireland had provided £6,300 in taxation each year, but by the middle of Edward II's reign this had fallen to around £2,000 per annum as a result of factors such as famine, Irish insurgency, invasion by the Scots and the absenteeism of the English lords.<sup>76</sup> Ireland did not by any means escape the famine and cattle murrain of 1315-22, which resulted in widespread hardship across Western Europe. Further devastation resulted from the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce, who landed with his army at Carrickfergus on 26 May 1315 and proceeded to ravage numerous lordships (including parts of Leinster) before his death on 14 October 1318 at the battle of Dundalk. The author of the *Annals of Ulster* wrote of Edward Bruce's death that, 'there was not done from the beginning of the world a deed that was better for the men of Ireland than that deed. For there came dearth and loss of people during his time in all Ireland in general for the space of three years and a half and people undoubtedly used to eat each other throughout'.<sup>77</sup> As Lydon has speculated, 'the devastation of the armies, coupled with the terrible famine and associated deaths, must have left much of Ireland in a frightful state'.<sup>78</sup>

In an attempt to combat Edward Bruce's invasion, the king had ordered Norfolk and the other magnates possessed of lordships in Ireland to send forces there on 4

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<sup>75</sup> Orpen, *Ireland*, iii. 84-5.

<sup>76</sup> J. F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), 191-201,

<sup>77</sup> *Annála Uladh: The Annals of Ulster from the Earliest Times to the year 1541*, 4 vols. (Dublin, 1998), ii. 432-3.

<sup>78</sup> J. F. Lydon, 'The Impact of the Bruce Invasion, 1315-27', in F. X. Martin et al. (eds), *A New History of Ireland: Under the Auspices of the Royal Irish Academy Planned and Established by the Late T. W. Moody*, 9 vols. (Oxford, 1976-2003), ii. 282-95.



January 1317.<sup>79</sup> Clearly, however, this was not successful in preventing devastation within Norfolk's lordship. In 1319 he petitioned the king for an allowance at the Irish exchequer in Dublin in consideration of the damage caused by the invasion of the Scots and the rebellions of the native Irish, and the king accordingly wrote to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer in Dublin ordering them to acquit Norfolk of £34 owed by him, because his tenants had been impoverished.<sup>80</sup> Norfolk also complained that many of his tenants and officials (including his steward and treasurer) had been killed during successive raids on Carlow.<sup>81</sup>

Lydon has cited evidence which suggests that Ireland was quick to recover from the famine and the Scottish invasion, including the rebuilding of the bridges across the Liffey at Kilcullen and the Barrow at Leighlin, which he sees as indicating that trade between Dublin, Carlow and Kilkenny had regained its vitality.<sup>82</sup> However, the violence and devastation did not cease with the defeat of Edward Bruce, since Irish clan chiefs such as the MacMurroughs took the opportunity to attack Anglo-Irish lordships.<sup>83</sup> As an absentee lord, the defence of Carlow fell to Norfolk's officials – his stewards in particular. In 1323 and 1328 his steward, Henry Traherne, successfully captured members of the MacMurrough clan, but not all of his officials proved to be so reliable.<sup>84</sup> In May 1331, for instance, William Bermingham – probably acting in his capacity as Norfolk's steward – launched an attack against the Irish who had been raiding within the Dublin hinterland, but in the process '*multa mala fecit, et majora fecisset, nisi impeditus fuisset per falsa promissa Hibernicorum*'.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> CCR, 1313-1318, 450-1.

<sup>80</sup> TNA SC 8/130/6480, also published in *Documents on the Affairs of Ireland before the King's Council*, ed. G.O. Sayles (Dublin, 1979), 94; CCR, 1318-1323, 80.

<sup>81</sup> TNA, SC 8/267/13333, also published in *Documents on the Affairs of Ireland*, 95.

<sup>82</sup> Lydon, 'Impact', 297.

<sup>83</sup> For a detailed account of Irish resurgence in the area at this time, see E. O'Byrne, *War, Politics and the Irish of Leinster, 1156-1606* (Dublin, 2003), 83-95.

<sup>84</sup> R. Frame, 'Power and Society in the Lordship of Ireland 1272-1377', *Past & Present*, 76 (1977), 16; R. Frame, *English Lordship in Ireland 1318-1361* (Oxford, 1982), 67.

<sup>85</sup> *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin*, ed. J. T. Gilbert, 2 vols. (London, 1884), ii. 374-5; Frame, *English Lordship*, 209.



The Irish insurgency during the early fourteenth century was in part due to the increasing absenteeism of English magnates who held lordships in Ireland, which meant that defence was left to unsupervised stewards and the king's beleaguered officials in Dublin. During the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Irish lordships were generally large and profitable enough to demand the attention of their lords. In the thirteenth century the Marshals had visited their lordship of Leinster regularly, and Norfolk's predecessor, Roger Bigod IV, visited his lordship of Carlow in 1279 and helped the then justiciar, Robert Ufford, in his efforts to control the MacMurroughs.<sup>86</sup> Gilbert Clare, earl of Gloucester and lord of Kilkenny, and William Vescy, lord of Kildare, also visited their Irish lands towards the end of the thirteenth century.<sup>87</sup> In comparison Norfolk never visited his Irish lordship, and he was by no means alone in this omission in the early fourteenth century. During the reign of Edward II a considerable number of lordships were divided into smaller parcels amongst heirs or heiresses: when the earl of Gloucester was killed at Bannockburn in 1314, his lordship of Kilkenny was divided between his three sisters; Meath and Louth were divided between Theobald Verdon's four daughters in 1316; Wexford was parcelled out between Pembroke's three heirs in 1324; and after the death of Richard Clare in 1318, followed by the demise of his only son in 1321, his lordship was divided between his two sisters.<sup>88</sup> These divisions of lordships within great families, who often also held large parcels of land in England, meant that they were no longer substantial enough to warrant the expense of their defence.

Whereas the major issue of conflict between the Crown and the Marcher lords concerned royal rights versus traditional Marcher prerogatives, absenteeism was the main cause of antagonism between Edward III and his Irish lords. On 15 October 1331,

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<sup>86</sup> J. F. Lydon, 'The Expansion and Consolidation of the Colony, 1215-54', in Martin et al. (eds), *New History of Ireland*, ii. 166; R. Frame, *Colonial Ireland, 1169-1369* (Dublin, 1981), 65.

<sup>87</sup> Frame, *English Lordship*, 52.

<sup>88</sup> Frame, *English Lordship*, 53; Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 119.



Edward III wrote to Norfolk and to twenty-four other individuals in possession of Irish lordships. The king asserted that it was 'well-known in that land [Ireland] that the possessions and lands in Ireland of the earl and of other of the king's nobles and subjects dwelling in England are wasted and occupied by the king's enemies there for want of custody'. He demanded that Norfolk and the other recipients of the letter should send suitable officials to their lordships to defend their lands and tenants and threatened that, 'if the king come to Ireland and find the earl's lands in the hands of the enemy and cause them to be delivered by armed force, he may have his will of the said lands as being of his own conquest'.<sup>89</sup> In the same year the king issued an ordinance whereby all individuals who held lands in Ireland were either to live on them or to provide sufficient men for their defence, the punishment being forfeiture should the king's commands in this matter not be followed.<sup>90</sup>

Of course it does not necessarily follow that because Norfolk never visited his lordship of Carlow he took no active interest in its administration. As Frame has pointed out, 'the fact that English lords and ladies rarely or never included Ireland in their itineraries should not be taken to mean that their Irish lands were worthless, or that they were careless of their interests in them'.<sup>91</sup> In 1313 Norfolk, Gloucester and Pembroke were granted the right to pontage by the king over a duration of twenty years in order that they might construct a bridge between New Ross and Rosbargon, which would no doubt have increased trading activity within the surrounding area.<sup>92</sup> New Ross had been founded by the Marshals in the early thirteenth century, and had become economically successful due to its hinterland and its position at the confluence of the Nore and Barrow rivers, and this resulted in the diversion of trade from Waterford.<sup>93</sup> To ensure the continued economic prosperity of the borough, Norfolk found it necessary to

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<sup>89</sup> *CCR, 1330-1333*, 400.

<sup>90</sup> Lydon, *Lordship of Ireland*, 201-3.

<sup>91</sup> Frame, *English Lordship*, 62.

<sup>92</sup> *Handbook and Select Calendar of Sources for Medieval Ireland*, 49-51; *CPR, 1313-1317*, 43.

<sup>93</sup> Frame, *Colonial Ireland*, 84-5.



petition the king and his council because royal officials based in Waterford had been preventing merchants from landing with their goods at New Ross.<sup>94</sup>

On the whole, however, Carlow was too distant to make its administration either easy or efficient. Its revenues were falling, and Norfolk's absenteeism was bringing him into conflict with the king. It was no doubt for these reasons that Norfolk chose to cede Carlow rather than any of his other estates to William Montague as part of the marriage alliance created between them in 1333. It is significant to note that none of Norfolk's major land transactions – such as the cessation of Chepstow to Despenser the younger in 1323-24, the grant of Bosham and the other manors in Suffolk to his son and Beatrice Mortimer in 1328, the surrender in 1332 of the lands that had been granted to him following Isabella and Mortimer's invasion, or the transfer of Carlow to William Montague in 1333 – involved his estates in East Anglia. These lands were either retained for Norfolk's own use or granted in small parcels to various members of his affinity, and where possible Norfolk seems to have been keen to increase his landholdings in this region. In May 1317, for instance, he granted sixty-eight librates of land and the advowson of the church at Great Chesterford in Essex to one of his retainers, Osbert Clinton, in return for the manor of Radenhale in Norfolk together with the advowson of the church there.<sup>95</sup> The conclusions to be drawn from Norfolk's land transactions are clear. His manors in Norfolk and Suffolk were geographically compact, and so were efficient to manage. They were within easy travelling distance from London, which also made them convenient. Furthermore, Norfolk and Suffolk had a high population density and so his manors in East Anglia produced reasonable revenues from rents, whilst cheap seasonal labour was plentiful, as were tenants to perform the customary works that helped to make demesne farming profitable. Manors in this region were therefore retained by Norfolk as his 'home farms' or granted out to his followers –

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<sup>94</sup> TNA SC8/130/6488.

<sup>95</sup> The grant to Clinton was for the duration of his life only, whereas Norfolk and his heirs were to hold Radenhale in perpetuity: *CPR, 1313-1317*, 659.



many of whom were local men – which would equally serve to increase his influence in the area. By contrast, his estates which lay further afield – particularly his lordships in the March of Wales and in Ireland – were more expendable, especially if he felt that he could extend his power and influence by using them in land transactions with the king or other magnates.

During his lifetime Norfolk did grant away a significant proportion of his property and in 1336 (for reasons that have now become totally obscured), he rescinded his right to the £800 per annum that William Bohun was obliged to pay to him in return for holding the lands and rents that had originally been granted to Norfolk in 1327. These actions would undoubtedly have impacted upon Norfolk's finances, and there is some evidence to suggest that he experienced financial difficulties, particularly during the 1330s. It was argued above that in 1323 Norfolk ceded his lordship of Chepstow to Despensers the younger for a yearly rent of £200 (later commuted to a single payment of 1,200 marks), precisely because he was suffering from a cash shortage at that time.<sup>96</sup> Similarly, in December 1330 Norfolk leased his manor of Long Bennington in Lincolnshire to one of his retainers, John St Philibert, for a period of five years at a rent of £100 per annum, of which £400 was to be paid in advance and the remaining sum at Michaelmas in the fifth year. The following month Norfolk acknowledged that he owed a total of £500 to John St Philibert, suggesting that the entire rent had been paid in advance in the form of a loan.<sup>97</sup> By 1337 Norfolk was certainly in debt to the Crown. On 15 August 1337 the king granted him respite on payment of his debts in consideration of the fact that he was about to set out to Scotland in the king's service.<sup>98</sup> That these debts had not been paid by the time of his death is clear from that fact that on 28 August 1338 the king appointed John Shordich and Robert Howell to confiscate all

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<sup>96</sup> See above, 90-5.

<sup>97</sup> *CPR, 1330-1334*, 34; *CCR, 1330-1333*, 177-8.

<sup>98</sup> *CCR, 1337-1339*, 159, 243.



his goods and chattels, which he then sold back to Norfolk's second wife Mary for the sum of £300, in recompense for the earl's debts.<sup>99</sup>

The fact that Norfolk was in debt by the time of his death is not surprising. He had been raised in a state of princely luxury and would have wished to maintain this lifestyle as an adult. In order to enable him to do so, Edward I had intended that he should be bequeathed lands worth 10,000 marks per annum, but this full amount never materialized. Norfolk maintained a considerable following, and it should also be noted that during much of the 1330s he was actively involved in the king's service in both Gascony and Scotland, and that compensation for his expenses from the Crown was not always easy to obtain.<sup>100</sup> Norfolk's predecessor, Roger Bigod IV, could not sustain his lifestyle on the basis of the estates pertaining to the earldom of Norfolk and appears to have become increasingly indebted to the Crown, and both Baldwin and Maddicott have concluded that even Thomas of Lancaster, 'however great his wealth, was living on a scale of magnificence far beyond his means'.<sup>101</sup> The surprise is perhaps not therefore that Norfolk was in debt, but that he owed such a relatively small amount of money at the time of his death.

Despite Norfolk's financial difficulties, there is no evidence to suggest that he ruthlessly exploited his estates to the detriment of his tenants. This puts him in stark contrast with Thomas of Lancaster, whom Maddicott has described as 'a rapacious, grasping and cruel landlord, so powerful that he could ride roughshod over the rights of others and defy the law with impunity'.<sup>102</sup> There is, in fact, some evidence to suggest that Norfolk was a good landlord. For instance, it was not unknown for him to grant

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<sup>99</sup> *CFR*, 1337-1347, 91-2; *CCR*, 1337-1339, 504, 537, 560.

<sup>100</sup> In about 1330, for instance, Norfolk petitioned the king and council requesting compensation for 500 marks which he was owed for his expenses in Gascony: TNA SC8/75/3734.

<sup>101</sup> J. F. Baldwin, 'The Household Administration of Henry Lacy and Thomas of Lancaster', *EHR*, 42 (1927), 194; Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 31.

<sup>102</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 31-5, 318.



manumission to unfree tenants.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, in March 1338 Norfolk made a quitclaim to all his tenants in England and Wales of the yearly rent of tallage. This quitclaim – which was binding in not only his own lifetime, but also that of his heirs – was said to have been made at the request of his wife Mary.<sup>104</sup> Given that in 1324-25 tallage accounted for £9 in receipts from Framlingham alone, this was a generous grant. Norfolk was also keen as a landlord to make various improvements on his estates. For instance, by January 1317 he had constructed a series of dykes at Walton in Suffolk in order to recover an area of marshland from the sea.<sup>105</sup> He also requested and was granted by the king the right to hold markets at his manor of Earl Soham in Suffolk and at his town of Harwich in Essex. The latter was also given the status of a free borough at Norfolk's request.<sup>106</sup> Admittedly, not all of his holdings benefited from such attention. At the inquisition post mortem held in London after his death, the escheator described his holdings there as a few shops and solars with a ruinous plot of land on which nobody dared to dwell.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, where Norfolk did make improvements they increased the profitability of his estates and in many cases would also have been beneficial to his tenants.

Finally, a word should be said about the descent of Norfolk's estates. Even prior to his death, the estates pertaining to the earldom of Norfolk had become divided – the lordship of Carlow had been granted to William Montague for the term of fifteen years with reversion to Norfolk's daughter Alice, and the manors of Bosham, Funtington Stoke and Thorney in Sussex were in the hands of Beatrice Mortimer for the remainder of her life. Following Norfolk's death in August 1338, his estates were further divided between his second wife and his two daughters, but remarkably they had all reverted to the sole ownership of his eldest daughter, Margaret, by the end of the century. After

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<sup>103</sup> *CPR, 1334-1338*, 464-5.

<sup>104</sup> *CPR, 1338-1340*, 545; *CPR, 1340-1343*, 396.

<sup>105</sup> *CPR, 1317-1321*, 576.

<sup>106</sup> *CChR, 1300-1326*, 235; *CPR, 1317-1321*, 380; *CChR, 1300-1326*, 414.

<sup>107</sup> TNA E152/1/25, calendared in *CIPM*, viii. 94-5.



Norfolk's death his second wife Mary was assigned the largest portion of his estates – she took not only a third of the lands by right of dower, but also the manors of Framlingham and Walton in Suffolk and the lordship of Chepstow by jointure. The remaining lands were divided between Alice and Margaret.<sup>108</sup> Alice had already died by the time of her step-mother Mary's death in 1362, and so the lands pertaining to the earldom were further divided between Alice's only surviving child, Joan, and Margaret (see Figure 2).<sup>109</sup> Joan herself died in 1375 and had no surviving children. Her husband, William Ufford, earl of Suffolk, was allowed to retain her lands until his own death in 1382, at which time they passed to Margaret – now Norfolk's sole surviving heir.<sup>110</sup> The following year in 1383 Beatrice Mortimer died, and this marked the point at which all of the lands pertaining to the earldom of Norfolk had reverted to Margaret's sole keeping.<sup>111</sup> By virtue of outliving everybody else (including both of her husbands and all of her children), Margaret became one of the wealthiest women in late fourteenth-century England, and in recognition of this she was created duchess of Norfolk in her own right in 1397. On Margaret's death in 1399 her estates should have passed to her only surviving grandchild, Thomas Mowbray, but he had been exiled the year before, and in any case he only outlived his grandmother by a matter of months. The lands pertaining to the earldom of Norfolk (now in fact a duchy) were managed by the Crown until 1413, when – seventy-five years after Norfolk's death in 1338 – they were finally inherited intact by a male heir in the person of John Mowbray, Norfolk's great-great-grandson.<sup>112</sup>

To conclude, Waugh has asserted that Norfolk's land transactions 'do not speak well either of Thomas's financial acuity, or of his ability to protect his own interests

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<sup>108</sup> For the division of Norfolk's estates after his death, see: TNA E152/1/23, calendared in *CIPM*, vii. 154-5; *CCR*, 1337-1339, 582-3; *CCR*, 1339-1341, 37-40; *CFR*, 1337-1347, 111.

<sup>109</sup> *CIPM*, xi. 305-314, 416-417.

<sup>110</sup> *CIPM*, xv. 239-58.

<sup>111</sup> *CIPM*, xv. 367-8.

<sup>112</sup> *CIPM*, xviii. 72-7; Archer, 'Estates and Finances of Margaret of Brotherton', 264-78.



generally'.<sup>113</sup> In fact, all of Norfolk's land transactions served a logical purpose – his estates were used to reward his followers, to create marriage alliances, to try to increase his favour with the Crown, or to solve cash shortages. He was astute enough to appraise the value of his estates according to their geographical location, and the particular merits or difficulties associated with lordship in England, Ireland and Wales. Despite the economic hardships of the early fourteenth century, Framlingham was certainly thriving under Norfolk's ownership, which suggests that demesne farming could still be profitable in this region of England. There was a considerable degree of continuity at Framlingham between the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, but Norfolk appears to have appointed highly competent officials, who by 1324-25 had increased arable productivity and the exploitation of the surrounding parkland. Norfolk did suffer financial difficulties, but this did not cause him to raise rents exorbitantly, and he even freed his tenants from tallage. Furthermore, Norfolk was only £300 in debt to the Crown at the time of his death whereas his predecessor, Roger Bigod IV, may have owed as much as £20,000, and he should not therefore be overly criticised for a lack of financial acumen.<sup>114</sup> Norfolk's real failing lay in his inability to extend his landholdings during his lifetime. This can partially be explained in terms of the attitudes towards patronage of Edward II and Edward III, but it was also due to Norfolk's failure to exploit the opportunities presented by marriage and his inability to ingratiate himself with those in power.

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<sup>113</sup> *Oxford DNB*, liv. 275-7.

<sup>114</sup> Nugent, 'Carlow in the Middle Ages', 75.



## CONCLUSION

No biography would be complete without an assessment of its subject's character. As the first sentences of this study suggested, Norfolk has tended to be portrayed in an unfavourable light by historians, and this is by no means entirely without justification. His contemporary, Jean le Bel, could hardly have been more damning in his description of Norfolk as a man with a vicious and displeasing temperament.<sup>1</sup> That he could be violent is corroborated by the fact that he was excommunicated for assaulting a clerk in 1321, and he could also certainly be avaricious. In 1324 there was an allegation that he took wine worth over fourteen marks from a Northampton merchant without paying for it, and his extensive plundering of estates belonging to the Despencers in 1326 was deemed to be serious enough to require royal pardons to be granted to those of his followers who had taken part.<sup>2</sup> The fact that his household was allowed to plunder the surrounding countryside, and that the marshalship of England was confiscated from him not just once but twice, also reflects badly upon his abilities.

Of course there was also another side to Norfolk that has not been recognized hitherto. According to the author of the *Vita* he was a good soldier – an important quality to possess given that this was the primary occupation of the nobility.<sup>3</sup> Although the early fourteenth century was a period of economic hardship and Norfolk himself suffered financial difficulties, he appears to have been a generous lord to both his followers and tenants. Men such as the keeper of his wardrobe, William of Newport, were paid generous fees or were granted manors to hold for the duration of their lives. Tenants do not appear to have been subjected to exorbitant rents and were freed from

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<sup>1</sup> Norfolk is described as '*moult sauvage et desguisée maniere*': *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, i. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *CPR, 1327-1330*, 268; *CPMR*, 6; *Registers of John de Sandale*, 410.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita*, ed. Childs, 198-9.



payment of tallage. Despite Norfolk's excommunication (which was presumably of only short duration), Norfolk displayed a conventional piety. In 1333 he obtained permission from the pope for his confessor to give him plenary remission for his sins at the hour of his death.<sup>4</sup> He arranged for chaplains to celebrate divine service daily at St Andrew's in Wells, Holy Trinity Church in Bosham and Dodnash Priory in Suffolk, to pray for his continued good estate during life and for his soul and the souls of his parents, wives and children in death.<sup>5</sup> As a child he was taught to give alms, and charity was by no means beyond Norfolk in adulthood. For instance, when the graveyard at Shipdham in Norfolk was devastated by a storm and the bodies buried there were washed out to sea, he donated land for a new churchyard.<sup>6</sup>

Many of the unfavourable comments about Norfolk appear to stem from a sense that he could and should have played a greater role in early fourteenth-century politics. As a son of Edward I, he was born to a position of status and prestige that entitled him to considerable political influence, and his upbringing gave him every possible advantage. He became one of the wealthiest magnates of the early fourteenth century with a large following, and yet he does not appear to have harboured ambitions to be a highly active statesman like Pembroke, or a leader of the baronial opposition like Lancaster. Nevertheless, Norfolk was entirely capable of making a decisive stand when necessary, and this study has demonstrated the complexities of Norfolk's political allegiances whilst suggesting that the significance of his actions has sometimes been misunderstood, particularly during the reign of Edward II. Despite a relatively promising beginning to his political career, Norfolk was not nearly as 'securely royalist' during the civil war of 1321-22 as has previously been supposed. It would appear that his sympathy with the grievances of his fellow Marcher lords, together with a disapproval of the ruthless manner in which Edward II conducted the war, created a

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<sup>4</sup> *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers*, 392.

<sup>5</sup> Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich, HD 538/202/1/28; *CPR, 1321-1324*, 25; *CPR, 1330-1334*, 11.

<sup>6</sup> TNA E326/4516.



deep rift between Norfolk and the king which resulted in a dramatic fall from favour. Edward II's attempts to win back his support prior to the invasion of Isabella and Mortimer were too little, too late. Norfolk's reasons for deserting his half-brother were probably little to do with his cessation of Chepstow to Despenser the younger or the confiscation of the Marshalship in 1323 – his traditionally cited motivations – but were rather based upon complex family loyalties and the lack of material favour that Edward II had shown to him. By allowing Isabella and Mortimer to land unopposed on the Suffolk coast and by immediately lending them his influential backing and military support, Norfolk played a decisive role in the downfall of Edward II, and the importance of his actions in September 1326 has previously been underestimated.

Since Norfolk was one of few English earls created between 1307 and 1326 not to have been executed for treason by 1330, his tendency to disassociate himself from the centre of politics was perhaps the most sensible course to take. It would also be unjust to attribute Norfolk's lack of political prominence and power solely to his unpopularity or lack of ambition, as this would fail to take into account the very different styles of kingship of the three Edwards and their attitudes towards patronage. Edward I might not have been overly generous towards his aristocracy, but his family was a different matter. He provided Norfolk with his own sizeable and prestigious household, and financed the purchase of every conceivable luxury. It seems probable that had Edward I lived long enough, Norfolk would have obtained a greater patrimony and a wealthier wife than in fact materialized, and that he would have been given greater political responsibility at a young age. Whilst Edward II was not disinterested in the welfare of his younger half-brothers, he failed to honour the full bequest made by his father and never showed them any great generosity. He lavished gifts on his favourites, but tended only to do the same for Norfolk and Kent when he was in particular need of their political support. Norfolk clearly hoped that by supporting Isabella and Mortimer he



would finally gain the wealth and influence due to him, and for a short time this was indeed the case. The leaders of the new regime, however, transpired to be just as avaricious as the Despensers had been, and equally controlling of access to the king. Norfolk's consequent involvement in the Lancastrian rebellion of 1328-29 was damaging to his influence, but his most dramatic political decline in fact occurred during the personal rule of Edward III. Although he was militarily active during the 1330s and continued to take part in councils and commissions, he does not seem to have witnessed royal charters with any regularity and did not receive any grants of a financial nature from his nephew. Despite Norfolk's attempts to win back the favour of Edward III by creating alliances with men such as William Montague, or becoming a patron of individuals like Walter Mauny, he died in obscurity and was buried in Bury St Edmund's Abbey rather than amongst his relatives at Westminster. Norfolk's political role during the 1330s does a great deal to substantiate the arguments put forward by Ormrod and Bothwell that members of the established aristocracy lost out to Edward III's closest circle of courtiers and his policy of peerage endowment.<sup>7</sup> Winning royal patronage and political influence was not merely a matter of popularity or ambition, but depended to a great extent upon the attitude of the monarch towards his aristocracy. Although Kent seems undoubtedly to have been the more popular of Edward I's youngest sons, it is unlikely that he was ever wealthier than Norfolk and his greater popularity certainly didn't prevent his execution for treason in 1330. It is tempting to suggest that Kent would have fared little better than Norfolk under the personal rule of Edward III, despite his greater amiability.

Norfolk's political role is probably more representative of the part played by the majority of magnates in early fourteenth-century England than the prominence of men such as Gaveston, Pembroke, Lancaster and the Despensers in the chronicles might at

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<sup>7</sup> Ormrod, *Reign of Edward III*, 12-13, 105-110; Bothwell, *Edward III*, 15-27, 127-49.



first lead us to believe. It has been a central tenet of this thesis that by looking past the chronicles to a much wider variety of sources – some of which have commonly been regarded as dull and repetitive – studies of men such as Norfolk can provide a new perspective and original evidence with which to support or modify current thinking about early fourteenth-century society and politics. There were a diversity of factors that contributed towards the failures of the reign of Edward II and the regime of Isabella and Mortimer, and that enabled Edward III to restore relative harmony, but this biography of Norfolk suggests that historians have been right to give prominence to the relationship between Crown and nobility and the issue of patronage. Consolidating and extending wealth was a prime concern of the aristocracy, especially during a period of economic decline when aristocratic lifestyles were nevertheless becoming increasingly sumptuous, and when additional revenue had to be found to support large affinities. Even great magnates such as Norfolk and Lancaster struggled to maintain themselves and their followers on the income generated by their estates, and the Crown was the obvious resource to turn to. In a climate such as this, it was unwise for a ruler to lavish great generosity on only a few select men, as Edward II did, or – as in the case of Isabella and Mortimer – to retain too much wealth for themselves. During the reign of Edward II it was the period following the battle of Boroughbridge that proved to be crucial in turning Norfolk and many other magnates away from the king. While Norfolk received none of the contrariant lands after 1322, he witnessed the inexorable rise of the Despensers in terms of both wealth and influence. He had supported Edward II during the civil war (if only outwardly), but the years of ‘tyranny’ persuaded him that he would fare better under a new regime. It is becoming increasingly clear that Edward III’s generosity was not as even-handed in comparison to his father as was once thought. He had his own circle of favourites and promoted these individuals and other new men to the detriment of the established aristocracy. Nevertheless, Edward III’s patronage



‘policy’ was more considered – none of his companions received grants as extensive as those given by Edward II to Gaveston and the Despensers, and he made it plain that he was promoting appropriate men with a history of service to the Crown. Norfolk could not object to the six men who were granted earldoms in 1337 since they were either kinsmen or had previously served in his retinue, or because of their undisputable services to the king.

Of course the nobility could also further their own financial prospects through judicious use of the marriage market, and at this Norfolk was particularly inept, missing vital opportunities to secure his wealth and status. That the son of a king could marry the daughter of a county coroner clearly demonstrates that there were opportunities for social mobility within early fourteenth-century aristocratic society. Norfolk’s own marriages and those that he arranged for his children also demonstrate the variety of purposes to which the marriage alliance could be put, aside from increasing wealth. His marriage to Alice Hales served to expand his influence within his comital county, whilst his alliances with Mortimer and Montague were rather aimed at furthering his national prospects. Making the right association at the right time was crucial, and Norfolk’s alliance with Mortimer may even have prevented his execution for treason in 1330.

Norfolk’s three children all seem to have been married at a young age and this may not have been unusual, and yet analysis of Norfolk’s own childhood suggests that there was an awareness during the later medieval period of the changing needs of children throughout their development. Although in many ways he appeared to lead a very adult lifestyle, nurture was deemed an important element in his early upbringing, and this then gave way to a more masculine environment in which he could learn knightly and courtly skills. This contradicts the theory put forward by Ariès and maintained by his followers for many decades that the concept of childhood did not exist during the Middle Ages. The above assessment of Norfolk’s upbringing has also



provided a great deal of original research which makes an important contribution to a little documented field, and helps to provide a much clearer idea as to the nature of royal and aristocratic childhood in this period.

Many of the officials and servants within Norfolk's childhood household served over a considerable number of years which provided a degree of continuity, and several continued in Norfolk's service during his adult life. Among Norfolk's long-term retainers there is no evidence to suggest that any of them served other lords whilst in receipt of his fees, and there were a diversity of strong bonds that tied members of his affinity to his lordship, including both familial and tenorial associations. In return, Norfolk's followers expected to be rewarded not only by means of a fee and livery, but also through promotion in the service of the Crown and his support in legal disputes. Feed retainers could clearly be used for corrupt purposes, but instances of this should not be exaggerated. The seemingly exclusive service of Norfolk's long-term retainers, and the analysis given above of the ties that bound members of his affinity to his service, has implications as to the traditional understanding of livery and maintenance as a primary factor that contributed to widespread violence within later medieval society. Instead it supports the theory that violence was not inherent within aristocratic society, but that it resulted from weak governance. Since so few magnate affinities have been studied to date, the above investigation into the composition of Norfolk's affinity represents a significant contribution to the field, and provides new comparative data.

Maintaining a large affinity was an expensive affair, and lands worth over £314 from Norfolk's East Anglian estates alone were granted by him to followers and family members.<sup>8</sup> This made the profitability of his remaining estates an even more vital issue. The example of Framlingham in 1324-25 suggests that despite the 'crisis' of the early fourteenth century, demesne farming could still be a viable option in south-eastern

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<sup>8</sup> TNA C49/7/4, m. 2.



England, without recourse to raising rents to exorbitant levels. It also suggests that there might be considerable continuity in the management of a manor, even if it changed hands several times. In contrast to many members of the aristocracy, Norfolk was highly fortunate in that the majority of his English manors were situated in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and by retaining these lands and recruiting members of his affinity from this region he was able to create a strong, localized power base. His other estates were also valuable assets and were utilized by him in a variety of ways. Some of his English manors outside of East Anglia were used in 1328 to provide for his son Edward, and others were granted to his followers. Norfolk attempted to guard his profitable rights as a Marcher lord (with varying degrees of success), but despite the advantages associated with Marcher lordships they were a potential source of conflict, and when he needed money in 1323-24 it was Chepstow that Norfolk chose to cede to Despenser the younger. The lordship of Carlow in Ireland was also a potential source of conflict with the Crown, and due to its declining profits and distant location, Norfolk used this lordship to create his alliance with William Montague.

There was very little stability within the aristocracy during the early fourteenth century – death as a result of natural causes, warfare or (increasingly) execution, often resulted in lengthy minorities, and a considerable number of families also died out in the male line during the period, including Norfolk's. While Edward I had created few new earldoms, both Edward II and Edward III found it necessary to replenish dwindling numbers, and this further altered the dynamics within the nobility. The situation was exacerbated by political upheaval and violence, external warfare and an economic 'crisis'. This study has illustrated the ways in which magnates such as Norfolk adapted to the often rapidly and dramatically changing political and social landscape. Above all, it supports Phillips' suggestion that early fourteenth-century society and politics can only be fully understood by treating members of the aristocracy as individuals with their



own particular concerns, attitudes and allegiances.<sup>9</sup> It is hoped that this study has served to modify current academic thought regarding not only Norfolk's particular relevance to our understanding of the early fourteenth-century, but also as to the importance of the genre of historical biography as a whole.

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<sup>9</sup> Phillips, *Aymer de Valence*, 21.



## APPENDIX ONE

### Norfolk's Itinerary

| <u>DATE</u>    | <u>LOCATION</u> | <u>REFERENCE</u>                                    |
|----------------|-----------------|---|
| <b>1300</b>    |                 |   |
| 1 June         | Brotherton      | <i>Liber Quotidianus</i> , 44                       |
| 25-30 December | Northampton     | BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 24v                           |
| <b>1301</b>    |                 |   |
| 24 May         | Northampton     | TNA E101/360/14, m. 1;<br>BL Add. MS 7966A, fo. 29v |
| 11 October     | Devizes         | TNA E101/360/12, m. 3                               |
| <b>1303</b>    |                 |   |
| 7 April        | Windsor         | TNA E101/363/14, m. 1                               |
| 26-27 May      | Windsor         | TNA E101/363/14, m. 1                               |
| 19 June        | Windsor         | TNA E101/363/14, m. 1                               |
| 1 November     | Windsor         | TNA E101/363/14, m. 1                               |
| 6 December     | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 9 December     | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 25 December    | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 28 December    | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| <b>1304</b>    |                 |   |
| 29 March       | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 17 May         | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 19 May         | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 21 May         | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 26 June        | Windsor         | TNA E101/366/15, m. 1                               |
| 12 December    | Windsor         | TNA E101/367/3, m. 1                                |
| 24 December    | Windsor         | TNA E101/367/3, m. 1                                |
| <b>1305</b>    |                 |   |
| 28 April       | Fulham          | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1                                |
| 29 April       | Isleworth       | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1                                |
| 30 April       | Kennington      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1                                |
| 4 May          | Banstead        | BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r;<br>TNA E101/367/4, m. 1   |
| 29 May         | Banstead        | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1                                |



**1305 cont.**

|             |              |                          |
|-------------|--------------|--------------------------|
| 10 June     | Horsell      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 11 June     | Shalford     | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 12 June     | Chiddingfold | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 18 June     | Chichester   | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 19 June     | Droxford     | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 20 June     | Winchester   | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 21 June     | Wherwell     | TNA E101/367/4, m. 1     |
| 22 June     | Ludgershall  | TNA E101/367/4, m. 2     |
| 12 July     | Ludgershall  | BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r |
| 15-17 July  | Amesbury     | TNA E101/367/4, m. 2     |
| 18 July     | Clarendon    | TNA E101/367/4, m. 2     |
| 25 July     | Ludgershall  | TNA E101/367/4, m. 2     |
| 22 August   | Ludgershall  | BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r |
| 2 October   | Amesbury     | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 3 October   | Great Bedwyn | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 4 October   | Newbury      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 5 October   | Englefield   | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 7 October   | Bustlesham   | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 8 October   | Windsor      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 9 October   | Staines      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 10 October  | Isleworth    | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 14 October  | Windsor      | TNA E101/367/4, m. 4     |
| 26 October  | Ludgershall  | BL Add. MS 37656, fo. 1r |
| 24 November | Windsor      | TNA E101/368/12, fo. 1r  |

**1306**

|            |             |                         |
|------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| 3 April    | Winton      | TNA E101/368/12, fo. 1r |
| 17 May     | Guildford   | TNA E101/368/12, fo. 1r |
| 1 November | Northampton | TNA E101/368/12, fo. 1r |

**1310**

|             |          |                |
|-------------|----------|----------------|
| 15 November | Bosham   | TNA E101/374/1 |
| 29 November | Wallop   | TNA E101/374/1 |
| 30 November | Ogbourne | TNA E101/374/1 |



**1311**

|              |                   |                          |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 7 February   | Ludgershall       | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 8 February   | Andover           | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 9 February   | Ludgershall       | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 11 April     | Hamstead Marshall | BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 4r |
| 17 May       | Andover           | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 18 May       | Winton            | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 19-20 May    | Droxford          | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 30 May       | Bosham            | BL Add. MS 32050, fo. 4r |
| 11 September | Midhurst          | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 13 September | Witley            | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 14 September | Newick            | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 15 September | Kingston          | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 28 September | London            | TNA E101/374/1           |
| 30 September | London            | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 4 October    | Reading           | TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r  |
| 11 October   | Isleworth         | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 12 October   | Ascot             | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 13 October   | Reading           | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 14 October   | Woolhampton       | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 15 October   | Hamstead Marshall | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 18 October   | Marleborough      | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 19 October   | Devizes           | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 23 October   | Sherston          | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 24 October   | Frocester         | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 25 October   | Newnham           | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 26 October   | Chepstow          | TNA E101/374/18          |
| 6 December   | Chepstow          | TNA E101/374/19, fo.3r   |

**1312**

|             |                   |                         |
|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| 15 February | Arlingham         | TNA E101/374/18         |
| 16 February | Horsley           | TNA E101/374/18         |
| 18 February | Bradenstoke       | TNA E101/374/18         |
| 19 February | Marleborough      | TNA E101/374/18         |
| 20 February | Hamstead Marshall | TNA E101/374/18         |
| 9 March     | Hamstead Marshall | TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r |



**1312 cont.**

|               |                   |  |
|---------------|-------------------|--|
| 26 March      | Hamstead Marshall | TNA E101/374/19, fo. 3r                              |
| 14 May        | Hamstead Marshall | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 24 May        | Theale            | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 25 May        | Ascot             | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 26 May        | Isleworth         | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 27-28 May     | Stratford         | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 29 May        | Brentwood         | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 30 May        | Hatfield          | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 31 May-1 June | Colchester        | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 2 June        | Ipswich           | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 3 June        | Framlingham       | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 15 June       | Framlingham       | TNA E101/374/19, fo. 8r                              |
| 24 June       | Framlingham       | TNA E101/374/19, fo. 8v                              |
| 14 August     | Walton            | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 6 September   | Hollesley         | TNA E101/374/18                                      |
| 16 December   | Westminster       | TNA C53/99, m. 14;<br><i>CChR</i> , 1300-1326, 205-6 |

**1316**

|             |         |  |
|-------------|---------|--|
| 10 February | Lincoln | TNA C53/102, m. 7;<br><i>CChR</i> , 1300-1326, 304 |
| 22 February | Lincoln | <i>Register of Walter de Stapeldon</i> , 88        |

**1317**

|                 |                 |                     |
|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| 10 February     | Clarendon       | <i>RCWL</i> , 114   |
| 15 February     | Clarendon       | <i>RCWL</i> , 113   |
| 17 February     | Clarendon       | <i>RCWL</i> , 113   |
| 14 March        | Winchester      | <i>RCWL</i> , 114   |
| 30 May          | Westminster     | <i>RCWL</i> , 116   |
| 4 July          | Northampton     | <i>RCWL</i> , 117-8 |
| 11 July         | Leicester       | <i>RCWL</i> , 120   |
| 30 July         | Nottingham      | <i>RCWL</i> , 121   |
| 2 August        | Nottingham      | <i>RCWL</i> , 121   |
| 7 August        | Nottingham      | <i>RCWL</i> , 122   |
| 26-27 September | York            | <i>RCWL</i> , 123-4 |
| 6 October       | Sutton on Trent | <i>RCWL</i> , 126   |



**1318**

|            |             |                   |
|------------|-------------|-------------------|
| 18 March   | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 134 |
| 25 May     | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 133 |
| 8 July     | Northampton | <i>RCWL</i> , 139 |
| 17 July    | Northampton | <i>RCWL</i> , 139 |
| 8 August   | Leake       | <i>RCWL</i> , 140 |
| 6 November | York        | <i>RCWL</i> , 144 |

**1319**

|                 |                   |                          |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 24 March        | St Paul's, London | 'Annales Paulini', 285-6 |
| 6 June          | York              | <i>RCWL</i> , 156        |
| 15 July         | York              | 'Annales Paulini', 286   |
| 15 September    | Newcastle         | <i>RCWL</i> , 159        |
| 25-26 September | Newcastle         | <i>RCWL</i> , 159-60     |
| 8-9 October     | York              | <i>RCWL</i> , 160        |
| 12 October      | York              | <i>RCWL</i> , 160-1      |

**1320**

|             |              |                     |
|-------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 6 February  | Loughborough | <i>RCWL</i> , 163   |
| 20 February | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 162   |
| 28 February | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 163   |
| 28 October  | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 166-7 |
| 4 November  | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 166   |
| 12 November | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 166   |
| 16 November | Westminster  | <i>RCWL</i> , 167   |

**1321**

|                |             |                               |
|----------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| 18 February    | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 168-9           |
| 23-24 February | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 169             |
| 1 March        | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 169             |
| 28 March       | Gloucester  | <i>RCWL</i> , 169             |
| 13 April       | Gloucester  | <i>RCWL</i> , 169             |
| 16 April       | Gloucester  | <i>CCR</i> , 1318-1323, 366-7 |

**1322**

|              |                |                            |
|--------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 22 February  | Framlingham    | <i>CPR</i> , 1338-1340, 57 |
| 8 September  | Newbiggin      | <i>RCWL</i> , 182          |
| 19 September | Newcastle      | <i>RCWL</i> , 182          |
| 4 October    | Castle Barnard | <i>RCWL</i> , 182          |



**1323**

|             |                  |                     |
|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 March     | Knaresborough    | <i>RCWL</i> , 185   |
| 4 March     | Knaresborough    | <i>RCWL</i> , 185   |
| 17 August   | Ingleby Greenhow | TNA E40/4880        |
| 19 October  | Holand           | <i>RCWL</i> , 188   |
| 16 November | Nottingham       | <i>RCWL</i> , 187-8 |
| 18 November | Nottingham       | <i>RCWL</i> , 188   |

**1324**

|          |             |                     |
|----------|-------------|---------------------|
| 10 March | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 189   |
| 12 March | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 189   |
| 25 March | Westminster | <i>RCWL</i> , 190-1 |

**1325**

|                |                  |                     |
|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 July         | Westminster      | <i>RCWL</i> , 197-8 |
| 26-27 December | Bury St Edmund's | <i>RCWL</i> , 199   |

**1326**

|               |             |   |
|---------------|-------------|---|
| 1 January     | Lopham      | TNA E 326/7383                            |
|               | Haughley    | <i>RCWL</i> , 199                         |
| 8 January     | Hoxne       | <i>RCWL</i> , 199                         |
| 20-21 January | Norwich     | <i>RCWL</i> , 199-200, 203                |
| 3 February    | Walsingham  | <i>RCWL</i> , 200                         |
| 7 February    | Gaywood     | <i>RCWL</i> , 200                         |
| 18 February   | Barnwell    | <i>RCWL</i> , 200                         |
| 13 September  | Framlingham | TNA, E 101/374/18                         |
| 26 October    | Bristol     | <i>Parliamentary Writs</i> , ii.(i), 349. |
| 27 October    | Bristol     | 'Annales Paulini', 317                    |

**1327**

|                |             |                                 |
|----------------|-------------|---------------------------------|
| 15 January     | Westminster | <i>CPMR</i> , 12-13             |
| 1 February     | Westminster | <i>CCR, 1327-1330</i> , 100     |
| 15 February    | Westminster | TNA C53/114, m. 46 <sup>1</sup> |
| 26-27 February | Westminster | TNA C53/114, m. 43, 44          |
| 2-3 March      | Westminster | TNA C53/114, m. 34, 38, 44      |
| 6 March        | Westminster | TNA C53/114, m. 35              |
| 8 March        | Westminster | TNA C53/114, m. 37, 40, 42, 45  |

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<sup>1</sup> Norfolk's itinerary during the reign of Edward III has been compiled with the help of an unpublished list held in TNA entitled *Charter Roll Witnesses, Edward III*.



**1327 cont.**

|             |                  |                            |
|-------------|------------------|----------------------------|
| 10 March    | Westminster      | TNA C53/114, m. 34         |
| 14 March    | Westminster      | TNA C53/114, m. 35         |
| 25-26 March | Westminster      | TNA C53/114, m. 32, 35     |
| 14 June     | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 32         |
| 16-17 June  | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 25         |
| 20 June     | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 17         |
| 23-24 June  | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 16, 18, 25 |
| 26 June     | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 25         |
| 28-30 June  | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 14, 15, 20 |
| 2 July      | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 15, 25     |
| 6 August    | Stanhope         | TNA C53/114, m. 12         |
| 15 August   | York             | TNA C53/114, m. 11         |
| 27 October  | Bury St Edmund's | 'Annales Paulini', 333-4   |

**1328**

|           |             |                        |
|-----------|-------------|------------------------|
| 6 May     | Northampton | TNA C53/115, m. 17     |
| 8 May     | Northampton | TNA C53/115, m. 17     |
| 10-11 May | Northampton | TNA C53/115, m. 16, 17 |
| 17 May    | Northampton | TNA C53/115, m. 16     |

**1329**

|               |                   |                          |
|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| 2 January     | St Paul's, London | 'Annales Paulini', 343-4 |
| 28 July       | Windsor           | TNA C53/116, m. 16       |
| 16 October    | Dunstable         | TNA C53/116, m. 6        |
| 18-19 October | Dunstable         | TNA C53/116, m. 6, 8, 9  |

**1330**

|             |             |   |
|-------------|-------------|---|
| 22 July     | Woodstock   | TNA C53/117, m. 24                                |
| 3 October   | Bungay      | TNA SC1/38/200                                    |
| 26 November | Framlingham | TNA C66/197, m. 9;<br><i>CPR</i> , 1338-1340, 472 |
|             | Westminster | TNA C53/117, m. 14                                |
| 30 November | Westminster | TNA C53/117, m. 13                                |
| 4 December  | Westminster | TNA C53/117, m. 12                                |
| 13 December | Westminster | TNA C53/117, m. 10                                |



**1331**

|               |                  |                                |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| 11-12 January | Westminster      | TNA C53/117, m. 5, 7           |
| 20 January    | Westminster      | TNA C53/117, m. 7              |
| 22 January    | Westminster      | TNA C53/117, m. 7              |
| 28 January    | Hertford         | TNA C53/118, m. 33             |
| 6 February    | Langley          | TNA C53/118, m. 29             |
| 20 February   | Windsor          | TNA C53/118, m. 31             |
| 13 March      | Oxford           | TNA C53/118, m. 25, 26, 27, 28 |
| 6 May         | Haveling         | TNA C53/118, m. 19, 20, 22, 24 |
| 24 May        | Haveling         | TNA C53/118, m. 18             |
| 4 June        | Bury St Edmund's | TNA C53/118, m. 15             |
| 28 June       | King's Lynn      | TNA C53/118, m. 15             |
| 8 August      | Nottingham       | TNA C53/118, m. 14             |
| 8 October     | Westminster      | TNA C53/118, m. 4, 6, 8        |
| 10 October    | Westminster      | TNA C53/118, m. 12             |
| 16 October    | Westminster      | TNA C53/118, m. 13             |
| 18 October    | Westminster      | TNA C53/118, m. 10             |

**1332**

|          |           |                    |
|----------|-----------|--------------------|
| 29 March | Theale    | TNA SC1/36/106     |
| 1 April  | London    | TNA E236/4516      |
| 26 May   | Woodstock | TNA C53/119, m. 20 |

**1333**

|            |            |   |
|------------|------------|---|
| 3 February | York       | TNA E328/108, m. 5                                  |
| 5 February | York       | TNA E328/108, m. 5                                  |
| 28 June    | Tweedmouth | <i>Sir Christopher Hatton's Book of Seals</i> , 271 |
| 23 July    | Berwick    | TNA C53/120, m. 3                                   |

**1334**

|              |                   |   |
|--------------|-------------------|---|
| 23 January   | Dunstable         | TNA C53/120, m. 1                                 |
| 28 July      | Newport           | BCM D5/1/7  |
| 28 September | Great Chesterford | TNA C66/193, m. 23;<br><i>CPR</i> , 1338-1340, 97 |

**1335**

|          |           |  |
|----------|-----------|--|
| 24 April | Hollesley | TNA C66/193, m. 19;<br><i>CPR</i> , 1338-1340, 104-5 |
|----------|-----------|--|



**1335 cont.**

|             |             |   |
|-------------|-------------|---|
| 29 June     | Hollesley   | Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich,<br>HD1538/202/1/127 |
| 26 November | Framlingham | <i>CPR, 1338-1340, 55</i>                           |

**1336**

|          |                   |   |
|----------|-------------------|---|
| 16 March | Framlingham       | <i>CPR, 1340-1343, 396</i>                          |
| 27 March | Stratford         | <i>CPR, 1334-1338, 236</i>                          |
| 28 March | Dodnash (Bentley) | Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich,<br>HD1538/202/1/128 |

**1337**

|             |                   |   |
|-------------|-------------------|---|
| 3 March     | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 34                                  |
| 10 March    | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 33, 35                              |
| 12-13 March | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 21, 23, 35                          |
| 16-18 March | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 23-35                               |
| 20 March    | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 29                                  |
| 24 March    | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 22, 27                              |
| 24 April    | Dodnash (Bentley) | Suffolk Record Office, Ipswich,<br>HD1538/202/1/130 |
| 22 May      | Westminster       | TNA C53/124, m. 13                                  |

**1338**

|          |             |  |
|----------|-------------|--|
| 16 March | Framlingham | TNA C66/198, m. 9;<br><i>CPR, 1338-1340, 545</i> |
| 29 July  | Northampton | TNA C53/125, m. 6                                |
| 4 August | Framlingham | BL Cotton MS Julius VII, fo. 174r                |



## **APPENDIX TWO**

### **Members of the Household of Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock, 1301-1312**

The following chart lists the known members of the household of Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock between 1301 and 1312. It has been compiled from not only the extant rolls of livery, but also from the wardrobe books and household rolls as this gives a more accurate reflection of the size and composition of the household during a given year. Nevertheless, the list should not be regarded as conclusive. Some years are better documented than others, and this may lead to a distorted image of the true size of the household. Since no household documents have survived between 1307 and 1309, it is impossible to give any indication as to the membership of the household during these years. Further complications arise from the fact that in one document an individual might be referred to by his full name, whilst in others only his forename and title is given. Only familiarity with the sources can help to overcome this difficulty.

The chart shows that, as is to be expected, the household was at its smallest during the first four years of its existence when Thomas and Edmund were still infants. In 1305 the household substantially increased in size, with a larger number of squires and valets being employed. The stables in particular seem to have been expanded at this time, no doubt as a consequence of the fact that in this year the household ceased to be largely resident at Windsor and began to regularly travel much greater distances (see Appendix 1). The chart clearly illustrates not only the different departments within the household, but also the specific occupations of many of its members, including tailors and minstrels (who played a variety of instruments), a chandler, porter, partridge-catcher, greyhound keeper and a fisherman, amongst many others.



|   | 1301 <sup>1</sup> | 1302 <sup>2</sup> | 1303 <sup>3</sup> | 1304 <sup>4</sup> | 1305 <sup>5</sup> | 1306 <sup>6</sup> | 1310 <sup>7</sup> | 1311 <sup>8</sup> | 1312 <sup>9</sup> |  |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--|
| <b><u>Knights</u></b>                       |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Sir John Weston the elder, Steward          |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Sir Stephen Venusse                         |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Sir Richard Bourhunt                        |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Sir Walter of Norwich                       |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| <b><u>Clerks</u></b>                        |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Master John Claxton, Keeper of the Wardrobe |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| William Lorri, Chaplain and Almoner         |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| William of Newport, Clerk of the Wardrobe   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| John Ben, Clerk of the Chapel               |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| John Bluet, Clerk of the Chapel             |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Philip of Daventry, Clerk of the Chapel     |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Hugo, Clerk of the Chapel                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Ambrose of Newbury, Clerk of the Household  |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Ambrose of Glastonbury, Clerk of the Pantry |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Robert Langton                              |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| John Kettleston, Clerk of the Friars Minor  |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| <b><u>Ladies &amp; Damsels</u></b>          |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Lady Edeline Venusse, <i>Magistra</i>       |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Damsel of Lady Edeline Venusse (unnamed)    |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Mabille Raundes, Thomas's Wetnurse          |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Joanna, daughter of Mabille                 |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Eremburse, Thomas's Rocker                  |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Margaret, Edmund's Wetnurse                 |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Perrette Porssy, Edmund's Rocker            |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Alice, Eleanor's Wetnurse                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Matilda, Margaret Bohun's Wetnurse          |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Isabella, Margaret Bohun's Rocker           |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Joanna, daughter of Isabella                |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Aincie of Northampton, Chamber Assistant    |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Petronilla Boweys, Chamber Assistant        |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Marion Ertand                               |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Matilda, the Laundress                      |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| <b><u>Squires</u></b>                       |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Ralph Balu, Usher                           |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Guy Beauchamp                               |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Peter Bordet                                |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Hugo Blund                                  |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| Henry of Brabant, Usher of the Chamber      |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |
| John of Canterbury                          |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |                   |  |



|  | 1301 | 1302 | 1303 | 1304 | 1305 | 1306 | 1310 | 1311 | 1312 |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <b>Squires cont.</b>                       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Cokard                                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Nicholas Cokfeld, Serjeant-at-Arms         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Edward Cretynges                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert Despy                               |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of Flanders                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of France                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Gambays, Chamberlain                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William Harwedon                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard Lymbandeseye, Household Marshal    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of Marlborough, Tailor             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Adam Page                                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Percy                                 |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Bertald Poicy, Pantler                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Rademereslee                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John of St Denis                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard Schorham                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John of Scotland, Usher                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Tynerval                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Gioto Vilius                               |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John of Waltham, Courier                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger Wellesford                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Thomas Weston                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard Wode                               |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John, the Butler                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John, the Cook                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John, the Pantler                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Reginald, the Saucer                       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert, son of Pagan                       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| <b><u>Yeomen &amp; Other Officials</u></b> |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of Ashby, Messenger                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William Baas                               |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Blundel, Valet of the Chamber         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William Boreward, Thomas's Palfreyman      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger of Bridport                          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Gilbert Brokesbrok                         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Carliol, Trumpeter                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Clement of Chartres, Doorkeeper            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger of Derby                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of Devizes                         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |



|   | 1301 | 1302 | 1303 | 1304 | 1305 | 1306 | 1310 | 1311 | 1312 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <b>Yeomen cont.</b>                       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Stephen Dupham, Chandler                  |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Fleming                              |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Fordwyne                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William Frere                             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Golde                                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard Hamslap                           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John of Marlborough, Valet of the Chamber |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard More, Valet of the Chamber        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Ralph Porssy, Valet of the Chamber        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John Soranges, Partridge-Catcher          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Radolph Stassy                            |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger Tichefeld, Thomas's Messenger       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert of the Almonry                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Sanctius of the Almonry                   |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Walter of the Buttery                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger, the Charer                         |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Brian, the Cowherd                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John, the Doorkeeper                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert, the Fisherman                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William, the Greyhound Keeper             |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Adam of the Larder                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Olmer of the Larder                       |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William, the Marshal                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Roger, the Messenger                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William, the Organist                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard of the Pantry                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William of the Pantry                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert, the Porter                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Robert, the Poultry Keeper                |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Henry of the Saucery                      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Richard of the Saucery                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Henry of the Scullery                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Christian, the Tailor                     |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Stephen of the Wardrobe, Tailor           |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| Gilbert, the Trumpeter                    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| John, the Watchman                        |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William, Valet of Margaret Bohun          |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |
| William, Valet of Lady Edeline Venusse    |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |      |



|   | 1301      | 1302      | 1303      | 1304      | 1305      | 1306      | 1310      | 1311      | 1312      |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| <b><u>Grooms, Stable Boys &amp; Hall Boys</u></b> |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Roger of Ashby                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Robert Caumbray                                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William Cayham                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Richard Certesey                                  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| John of Langley                                   |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| John Longe  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| John Rukeby                                       |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Thomas Stokflutt                                  |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William Wight                                     |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William, the Carter                               |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Robert, Thomas's Palfreyman                       |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William, Edmund's Palfreyman                      |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Roger, the Sadler                                 |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William, the Waferer                              |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| <b><u>Minstrels</u></b>                           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Martin, the Minstrel                              |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Richard, the Trumpeter                            |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Stephen, the Watchman                             |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| <b><u>Serving Boys</u></b>                        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| John Berkchastre, Hearthkeeper of the Hall        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Michael Welbley of the Almonry                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Nicholas Willhopeston                             |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| William Winter                                    |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Nicholas, the Hearthkeeper                        |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Roger of the Napery                               |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| Richard of the Saucery                            |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |           |
| <b><u>TOTAL</u></b>                               | <b>33</b> | <b>28</b> | <b>45</b> | <b>44</b> | <b>78</b> | <b>65</b> | <b>53</b> | <b>70</b> | <b>59</b> |

<sup>1</sup> BL Add. MS 7966A; TNA E101/360/14; TNA E101/360/28.

<sup>2</sup> TNA E101/363/11; TNA E101/360/12.

<sup>3</sup> TNA E101/363/11; TNA E101/363/112; TNA E101/363/14; TNA E101/365/12; TNA E101/365/15.

<sup>4</sup> TNA E101/367/2; TNA E101/367/3; TNA E101/368/5.

<sup>5</sup> BL Add. MS 37656; TNA E101/368/5; TNA E101/368/12; TNA E101/369/15.

<sup>6</sup> TNA E101/368/5; TNA E101/368/12; TNA E101/369/15.

<sup>7</sup> BL Add. MS 32050.

<sup>8</sup> BL Add. MS 32050; TNA E101/374/19.

<sup>9</sup> TNA E101/374/19.



## **APPENDIX THREE**

### **Wardrobe Book from the Household of Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock, 1305 (BL Add. MS 37656)**

The following text is a translation of one of four wardrobe books to have survived from the childhood household of Thomas of Brotherton and Edmund of Woodstock. This particular account covers the period from 13 February to 19 November 1305. The manuscript (which is vellum and comprises eight folios), lacks its title page and the first section usually found in such documents detailing receipts, but is otherwise in good condition. It was intended to provide an accurate account of all of the expenses of the wardrobe, and would have been submitted to the king's wardrobe for auditing together with the household roll for the equivalent period (which can be found at TNA E101/367/4). It provides invaluable details as to the membership and administration of the *hospicium*, and also gives fascinating details about daily life and everyday objects in a noble household of the early fourteenth century, from the supplies of firewood and ashes needed to do the laundry, to descriptions of the bedding and clothing of the two princes, and even the red leather covering on their close-stool.

The translation given below from the original Latin has been made by following the guidelines set out by Hunnisett as closely as possible.<sup>1</sup> The layout of the translation is intended to reflect that found in the original document, and is also loosely based upon the example set by Blackley and Hermansen's edition of one of Queen Isabella's wardrobe books, which is very similar in format.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> R. F. Hunnisett, *Editing Records for Publication* (London, 1977), 52-66.

<sup>2</sup> *The Household Book of Queen Isabella of England for the Fifth Regnal Year of Edward II, 8<sup>th</sup> July 1311 to 7<sup>th</sup> July 1312*, ed. F. D. Blackley and G. Hermansen (Edmonton, 1971).



## THE TEXT

Fo. 1r.

### **ALMS IN THE 33<sup>RD</sup> YEAR [OF THE REIGN OF EDWARD I]<sup>3</sup>**

#### **Radegund**

Fifth day of May at London. In the oblations of Lord Edmund, the king's son, who is sickly, at the image of St Radegund the Virgin in the cathedral church of Blessed Paul at London 12d.

#### **Oblations distributed**

Fourth day of May at Banstead. In the oblations of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, distributed at a high mass celebrated in the presence of the said sons in the chapel of the manor of the said place on the day of Whitsun 3s. 10d.

#### **Chichester**

18<sup>th</sup> day of June at Chichester. In the oblations of the said sons at the relics above the great altar in the cathedral church of Chichester and at the head of St Richard, by the hands of Lady Edeline who lent the money 6s. 6d.

#### **Maintenance of Friars**

25<sup>th</sup> day of June at Clarendon, to the Dominicans of Salisbury for divine celebrations over two days for the prosperous estate of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, for their maintenance over the said two days by mandate of the king, given by Lord John Weston, steward of the household of the same lords 25s. 4d.

The same day to the Franciscans of the same place for divine celebrations over two days for the good estate of the said lords by mandate of the king himself, for their maintenance over the said two days, given by the said Lord John 23s. 4d.

#### **Winchester**

28<sup>th</sup> day of June at Winchester. In the oblations of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, at the relics above the great altar in the cathedral church of the said place by the hands of Mabile, Lord Thomas's nurse 6s.

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<sup>3</sup> 1305



### **Ludgershall**

First day of September. In the oblations of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, at a mass celebrated in the chapel of the manor of Ludgershall in honour of St Lupus

6d.

### **Caversham**

6<sup>th</sup> day of October at Caversham. In the oblations of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, and of Lady Mary, a nun and the daughter of the same king, at the image of Blessed Mary, and at the relics above the great altar in the chapel of the said place, namely 3s. from each of them

9s.

### **Reading**

The same day at Reading. In the oblations of the same sons, and of Lady Mary their sister, at the relics above the great altar in the college church of the same place, namely 3s. from each of them

9s.

### **Carlel**

26<sup>th</sup> day of October at Ludgershall, to John Carlel, trumpeter, for playing in the presence of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, and for coming to them to implore aid from the almonry of the said lords, given by Lord John Weston, the steward

5s.

### **Martin, the minstrel**

12<sup>th</sup> day of July at Ludgershall, to Martin the minstrel, for playing in the presence of the aforesaid lords, and for the repair of his drum broken by the same lords, given from their almonry by the said Lord John

2s.

### **Robert of Winchester**

22<sup>nd</sup> day of August at Ludgershall, to Robert of Winchester, waferer, for ministering to the king's sons and Lady Mary their sister, a nun of Amesbury, for serving them at their own table, given from the almonry of the same lords by Lord John Weston

2s.



### **Daily payment of oblations**

To Lord William Lorri, chaplain and almoner of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, for the daily payment of oblations given by the same lords at masses celebrated in their presence, receiving 2d. per day for these oblations from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February to the 20<sup>th</sup> day of November in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year, counting the last day but not the first, for 272 days, by account made with him at Ludgershall in the month of November in the above-said 33<sup>rd</sup> year

45s. 4d.

Total of the page      £6 18s. 10d.

Fo. 1v. [Blank]

Fo. 2r.

### **NECESSITIES**

#### **Coffers purchased**

To Walter Bardeney, cofferer of London, for two large cofferes with iron bands purchased from him and paid for by Lady Edeline Venusse, mistress of the king's sons, for their use, for keeping the linen cloths of the same sons, by command of the bishop of Chester,<sup>4</sup> at London on the 28<sup>th</sup> day of April

20s.

#### **Expenses of Thomas Weston**

To Thomas Weston, valet of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, sent from Kennington with letters from Lord Thomas to the king wherever he was staying, for assuring the same king about the health of the same lords by command of the king, for his expenses going, staying and returning over four days, at London on the third day of May

3s.

#### **Carriage of the offices**

To Clement of Chartres, doorkeeper of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, assigned by letters patent of the same king to arrange the carriage of the same lords, for money paid by him for the wages of twenty-two boatmen using eleven boats to transport the great wardrobe, the wardrobe of robes and other necessities of the chamber of the said lords, one with the victuals and equipment of various squires, servants and

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<sup>4</sup> Walter Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (also known as Chester).



officials of the household and family of the aforesaid lords, from Westminster to Kennington, travelling for three days, each of the aforesaid boatmen receiving 2d. per day by account made with them by Clement at Kennington on the last day of April, 11s. To the same for money paid by him for the wages of sixteen carters, each of their carts with two horses, for transporting various equipment of the household of the same sons and above-said victuals from Kennington to Banstead, travelling for two days and one day sojourning, each of them receiving 10d. per day of travelling and half of the wages in sojourning, receiving the money by his own hands at Evesham on the 23<sup>rd</sup> day of May, 33s. 4d.

To the same for money paid by him for the wages of twenty carters, for transporting the great wardrobe, wardrobe of robes and necessities of the chamber and equipment of the household of the same sons from Banstead to Chichester and then to Ludgershall, travelling for twelve days and two days sojourning, each of them receiving 10d. per day of travelling and half of the wages in sojourning, receiving the money by his own hands in the months of May and June, by account made with him at Ludgershall on the 19<sup>th</sup> day of June in the present year, £10 16s. 8d. Total £13 12d.

### **Wages of guides**

To Nicholas Cokfeld, servant-at-arms, for money paid by him to various guides for transporting the sons of the king on their journey from Banstead to Chichester and then to Ludgershall, travelling for 17 days, receiving the money by the hands of Henry Sharnham at Ludgershall on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of June 2s. 8d.

### **Purchase of curtain hooks**

To Ralph Balu, usher of the chamber of the king's sons, for money paid by him for one hundred large curtain hooks bought by him with which to hang curtains in the chamber of the king's sons, by the hands of Henry of Ludgershall, on the first day of July 2s. 8d.

### **Minutia**

To Stephen of the wardrobe, tailor of the king's sons, for money paid by him from the feast of Easter<sup>5</sup> to the 25<sup>th</sup> day of July, namely for silk, sindon, thread, linen and the wages of some boys for stitching eight small robes for the bodies of the aforesaid sons between the aforesaid times, just as is shown by his records in the wardrobe, 10s.

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<sup>5</sup> 18 April 1305.



To the same for 36 dozen silver buttons bought by him for the aforesaid robes, worth 4d. per dozen, 12s. Total 22s.

### **Parchment purchased**

To Thomas Holpitt, burgess of Winchester, for money paid by him at various times for 4 dozen parchments bought by him and paid for in the wardrobe of the king's sons 4s.

### **Transport of money**

To John Langton, for money paid by him for the cost of one hackney to transport money from London to Ludgershall in the company of the bishop of Chester, his lord, and journeying for five days, receiving 12d. per day, by the hands of Robert of London at Ludgershall on the 5<sup>th</sup> day of August 5s.

### **Confections**

To John Sellynges, apothecary of London, for 21 pounds of rose-coloured sugar in tablets (*zucri rosacie in tabula*) worth 2d. per pound, 11 pounds of new rose-coloured sugar, 11 pounds of sugar and ginger confection, 11 pounds of sweetmeats worth 2s. per pound, 6 pounds of ginger confection worth 20d. per pound, 8 pounds of anise confection worth 2s. per pound, 12 pounds of grain of fennel worth 6d. per pound, 16 pounds of rose-coloured sugar from Alexandria worth 2s. per pound, two boxes of pine-seed worth 10s., bought from him for the use of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, and for the provisions of the household of the same lords, for the impending visit of the prince and Lady Mary his sister, a nun, and other magnates, between the 28<sup>th</sup> day of April and the first day of October in the present year, just as is shown by the records, paid in the wardrobe £9 2s.

Total of the page      £25 2s. 4d.

Fo. 2v.

## **FURTHER NECESSITIES**

### **Hoods purchased**

To Stephen of Hereford, merchant of London, for two hoods of felt interior and lined with sindon, bought from him for the use of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's



sons, and paid for by Lady Edeline Venusse, mistress of the same, at London on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the month of September 4s.

### **Carriage of the household**

To Clement, doorkeeper of the king's sons, in money paid by him at various times for the wages of 25 carters, for transporting with their carts the great wardrobe, the wardrobe of robes and the chapel of the same sons, and other necessities of the chamber, one with the victuals and equipment of various officers of the household of the same lords, in their journey from Ludgershall to London, for ten days in the month of October, in cost each of the said carters receiving 8d. per day of the journey, by account made with the same at Westminster on the 20<sup>th</sup> day of October

£8 6s. 8d.

### **Purchase of a ferret**

To John Soranges, partridge-catcher of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, for money paid by him for a ferret, bought by him for catching rabbits for the use of the same lords, at Ludgershall on the third day of September 3s.

### **Purchase of sugar and ginger confection**

To John of London, burgess of Southampton, for 6 pounds of sugar and ginger confection, bought from him for the provisions of the household of the king's sons, by his own hands at Ludgershall on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of September 6s.

### **Confections**

To Thomas Florentine, apothecary of Salisbury, for 4 pounds of sugar and ginger confection worth 20d. per pound, 4 pounds of sandalwood electuary worth 18d. per pound, 2 pounds of sweetmeats worth 4d. per pound, bought from him for the provisions of the household of the same sons and also impending visitors, by the hands of John Juerne of Salisbury, receiving money at Ludgershall on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of August

13s. 4d.

### **Purchase of brass vessels**

To Robert Bolyter, for one brass pot weighing 15 pounds, worth 3d. per pound, bought from him for the service of the household of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, and delivered by Master John of Waltham, courier of the same sons, by the hands



of John Juerne of Salisbury, receiving the money at Ludgershall on the 18<sup>th</sup> day of August 3s. 9d.

To Robert of Hereford, potter of London, for two brass cauldrons, namely one large and the other small, weighing in total 130 pounds, bought from him for the service of the household of the same sons and delivered by the aforesaid Master John of Waltham, courier, worth 3d. per pound, by his own hands at London on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of November 32s. 6d.

### **Hampers purchased**

To John of London, maker of hampers, for two hampers bought from him, for one maple-wood cup with a silver base and one silver saucer for keeping ointment, for the use of Lord Thomas, the king's son, receiving the money by his own hands at Westminster on the 8<sup>th</sup> day of November 4s. 6d.

### **For making burel<sup>6</sup>**

To Ralph Balu, usher of the chamber of the lords, for money paid by him for wool, cotton, whale-bone and red wax, for making two burels by command of the king for the use of the same sons, by his own hands at Westminster on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of November 18d.

### **Fruit purchased**

To William, grocer of London, for 600 apples, 1,200 pears and 400 cherries bought for the use of the king's sons between the 22<sup>nd</sup> day of June and the 20<sup>th</sup> day of November 22s. 6d.

### **Parchment purchased**

To Thomas Holpitt, burgess of Winchester, for money paid by him for 8 dozen parchments, bought and paid for in the wardrobe of the king's sons for the provisions of the household, at Ludgershall in the month of October 10s.

### **Purchase of red wax**

To John Sellynges, apothecary of London, for 3 pounds of red wax bought from him for the seals of the lords, and paid for in the wardrobe of the same lords at various times at Ludgershall in the month of October 4s. 6d.

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<sup>6</sup> A coarse woollen material.



**Expenses of Clement, the doorkeeper**

To Clement, doorkeeper of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, sent from Windsor to York with letters to the same king concerning the affairs of the household of the same sons, being dealt with in the chancery in the present 33<sup>rd</sup> year, for the expenses of himself, his horse and his serving boys over fifteen days. Also for money paid by him for barley sugar, apples, pears and a chamber-pot, bought for the use of Lord Edmund, the king's son who is sickly. Also for money paid by him to various couriers, for delivering to various places the letters of Lord John Weston, the steward, concerning the affairs of the aforesaid household. Also for his expenses delivering letters of the queen and the aforesaid sons from Windsor to parts of Dorset. Also for other small necessities bought by him for the service of the said household, just as is shown by his records in the wardrobe, given at Westminster in the month of November      28s.

Total of the page      £15 3d.

Fo. 3r.

**FURTHER NECESSITIES**

**Expenses of Clement**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, mistress of the king's sons, for money paid by her for one chair with a lid and red leather covering for a close-stool of the same sons, and for one copper bowl for boiling milk for the use of the same sons, and other small necessities, purchased for the chamber of the said sons between the 14<sup>th</sup> day of March and the 19<sup>th</sup> day of March      22s.

**Expenses of the keeper of the wardrobe**

To Master John Claxton, clerk of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, staying at Westminster and elsewhere around, summoned to present his accounts of the expenses of the household and wardrobe of the same lords in the 31<sup>st</sup>, 32<sup>nd</sup> and 33<sup>rd</sup> years to the 12<sup>th</sup> day of February, for the audit of the same accounts in the wardrobe of the king at Stanwell, staying outside the court of his lords between the first day of April and the 11<sup>th</sup> day of June, accounting for 72 days, for his expenses and those of his serving boys and horses, receiving 3s. per day, £10 16s.



To the same, going at various times to various parts to make arrangements for the household of the same sons, for thirty-two days staying outside the court between the 18<sup>th</sup> day of June and the 9<sup>th</sup> day of October, receiving 3s. per day for his expenses, £4 10s.

By account made with him at Westminster in the month of November ending in the present year [Total] £15 6s.

#### **Expenses of Ambrose, clerk**

To Ambrose of Newbury, clerk of the offices, going to various parts to make arrangements for the provisions of the aforesaid household, for sixty-nine days staying outside the court of his lords between the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February and the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year, receiving 12d. per day for his expenses, by his own hands at Windsor in the month of November 32s.

#### **Allowance of the laundress**

To Matilda, laundress of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, receiving for her allowance 1d. per day, namely for firewood and ashes, from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year 22s. 8d.

#### **Flax purchased**

To Stephen, chandler of the king's sons, for money paid by him for 164 pounds of flax bought by him for the provisions of the household of the same sons between the 18<sup>th</sup> day of April and the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year, and for firewood, oil and other necessary provisions, and for going at various times to various places to obtain wax and flax, just as is shown by his records in the wardrobe, given at Windsor in the month of November 26s. 7d.

#### **For making mattresses**

To Thomas Querlee, the queen's cofferer, for money paid by him in the queen's wardrobe and given to Thomas, the tailor of the aforesaid queen, for making two mattresses, canopies and curtains with silk thread for the use of the king's sons, just as is shown in the account made with the said Thomas Virzon in the aforesaid wardrobe, at Westminster on the 21<sup>st</sup> day of October 110s.



### **Purchase of sacks and cart-covers**

To Walter Bardeney, cofferer of London, for two sacks and two cart-covers bought for the use of the king's sons, 38s. Also for two coffers for the robes of the same sons, 20s. For one sack and one cart-cover for Lady Edeline, 19s. For one small coffer for the same, 13s. 4d. For one sack and one cart-cover for Mabile the nurse, 19s. For one sack and one cart-cover for Perrette the rocker, 19s. For one sack and one cart-cover for carrying household equipment, 19s. Bought by Lord Thomas Querlee, and paid by the same at London in the month of November in the present 33<sup>rd</sup> year aforesaid

£7 7s. 4d.

Total of the page      £32 6s. 7d.

Total of the heading   £72 9s. 2d.

Fo. 3v. [Blank]

Fo. 4r.

### **MESSENGERS**

To Roger of Ashby, valet of the napery, carrying the letters of Lord Thomas, the king's son, from Kennington to Leeds to the queen, for his expenses going, staying and returning, at Kennington on the 9<sup>th</sup> day of May      2s.

The same day to William Winter, serving boy, carrying the letters of Lord John Weston from Chichester to Ludgershall, on two occasions, for the affairs of the lords, the king's sons, for his expenses going, staying and returning      8d.

The same day to William of Ashby, messenger of Lord Thomas, the king's son, carrying the letters of the same lord from Ludgershall to the king and queen in parts of Canterbury, for his expenses going and returning, not staying      4s.

15<sup>th</sup> day of June at Ludgershall, to John Merkham, courier, carrying the letters of the keeper of the wardrobe of the king's sons from the same place to Winchester, on two occasions, for the affairs of the same lords, given for his expenses      6d.

28<sup>th</sup> day of June, to Alan Fraunceys, courier, carrying the letters of Lord John Weston to Southampton, for the affairs of the household of the lords, the king's sons, for his expenses going, staying and returning      6d.

The last day of June at Ludgershall, to William of Ashby, messenger of Lord Thomas, the king's son, carrying the letters of the keeper of the wardrobe of the same lord to London, for the affairs of the household, for his expenses      2s.



Second day of July at the same place, to Thomas Brown, courier, carrying the letters of Lord John Weston, steward, to London, for the affairs of the household of the lords, for his expenses going, staying and returning 6d.

Fourth day of July, to William Winter, carrying the letters of the said Lord John Weston from Kennington to Langley to the prince, for his expenses going and returning 3d.

12<sup>th</sup> day of July, to Thomas Brown, carrying the letters of the keeper of the wardrobe of the king's sons from Ludgershall to Winchester, for the affairs of the household of the same sons, for his expenses going and returning 6d.

Fourth day of August, to Thomas Coterich, carrying the letters of the bishop of Chester from Ludgershall to the sheriff of Southampton and John of London, wherever they may be staying, for the affairs of the household of the lords, the king's sons, for his expenses going, staying and returning 12d.

To Wilfred of Ludgershall, serving boy, carrying the letters of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, to Thomas Holpitt, burgess of Winchester, and John of London at Southampton, to make arrangements for the arrival of the prince there, on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of August 4d.

First day of September at Ludgershall, to John Mymmyng, courier, carrying the letters of the keeper of the wardrobe of the lords to the sheriff of Southampton and John of London, for the same occasion and the affairs of the household of the same lords, for his expenses going and returning 8d.

26<sup>th</sup> day of September at the same place, to William of Ashby, messenger of Lord Thomas, the king's son, carrying the letters of the same lord from the same place to the king and queen staying in parts of Essex, for his expenses going, staying and returning 2s.

To William Winter, serving boy, carrying the letters of the keeper of the wardrobe of the king's sons from Ludgershall to Hungerford, for the affairs of the household of the same lords, for his expenses going, staying and returning, at Ludgershall in the month of September 4d.

To various couriers and serving boys sent at various times with the letters of John Weston and the keeper of the wardrobe of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, to the sheriffs of Wiltshire and Southampton and elsewhere to make arrangements for the household of the same lords, for their expenses going, staying and returning in the months of October and September 21d.

Total of the heading 17s.



**GIFTS**

**Lady Venusse**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, mistress of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, in recompense for her labours surrounding the court and the guardianship of the same lords, as a gift from them by command of the queen, by the hands of Lord Thomas Querlee, her cofferer, paid by him at Westminster on the 26<sup>th</sup> day of October

10 marks

**To Mabile, the nurse**

To Mabile Raundes, nurse of Lord Thomas, the king's son, in recompense for her labours pertaining to the guardianship of the same lord, as a gift from the same by the hands of the aforesaid Lord Thomas [Querlee], paid by command of the queen at the same place on the same day

£4

**Perrette Porssy**

To Perrette Porssy, rocker of Lord Edmund, in recompense for her labours in the service of the same lord, as a gift from the same by command of the queen, by the hands of the aforesaid Thomas [Querlee] at the same place on the same day

40s.

Total of the heading    £12 13s. 4d.

**SHOE ALLOWANCE OF THE VALETS OF VARIOUS OFFICES**

**Valets of the chamber and various offices:**

|                              |                                   |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| To Richard More              | To Ralph Porssy                   |
| To John Blundel              | To John, the courier              |
| To William Boreward          | To Henry of the scullery          |
| To John of Marlborough       | To John Fleming                   |
| To Hugo, clerk of the chapel | To Stephen, the Chandler          |
| To William of Ashby          | To Sanctius of the almonry        |
| To Richard of the pantry     | To Boreward, the palfreyman       |
| To Robert, the fisherman     | To Clement, the doorkeeper        |
| To Walter of the Buttery     | To William, valet of Lady Edeline |



To Roger of Derby

To Stephen of the wardrobe

To Richard Hamslap

To the valet of Lady Edeline

To William, valet of the daughter of the earl of Hereford<sup>7</sup>

To each of these 23 valets of various offices for their winter and summer shoe allowance in the present 30<sup>th</sup> [*sic*] year, 4s. 8d.

Total 107s. 4d.

## ROBES OF THE VALETS OF VARIOUS OFFICES IN THE PRESENT 33<sup>RD</sup> YEAR

### Valets of various offices:

To William of Ashby

To Richard of the pantry

To Robert, the fisherman

To Walter of the Buttery

To Roger of Derby

To Richard Hamslap

To John, the courier

To Henry of the scullery

To John Fleming

To Stephen, the chandler

To Sanctius of the almonry

To Boreward, the palfreyman

To Clement, the doorkeeper

To William, valet of Lady Edeline

To Stephen, the watchman

To the valet of the daughter of the earl of Hereford

To each of these 16 valets for their robes in the present 33<sup>rd</sup> year, 13s. 4d.

Total £10 13s. 4d.

Total of the page      £28 14s.

Fo. 5r.

## KNIGHTS' FEES

### Weston

To Lord John Weston the elder, receiving by way of his annual fee of 10 marks, for his summer wages in the present 33<sup>rd</sup> year, by account made with him at Ludgershall in the month of October

66s. 8d.

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<sup>7</sup> Margaret Bohun



**Venusse**

To Lord Stephen Venusse, knight, receiving by way of his annual fee of 10 marks, for his winter and summer wages in the present year, by the hands of Thomas Querlee, paid by him in money in the queen's wardrobe at London in the month of September

£6 13s. 4d.

Total [of the heading] £10

**[GREAT WARDROBE]**

**PURCHASE OF CLOTHS OF VARIOUS COLOURS, STIFFENED STRIPED CLOTHS, FURS, COVERLETS, SINDON, SERGE, MATTRESSES, NAPERY MATERIAL, TOWELLING, LINEN SHEETS AND CANVAS, BY LORD THOMAS QUERLEE FOR THE USE OF THE KING'S SONS IN THE 33<sup>RD</sup> YEAR**

**Cloths of various colours**

To Thomas Querlee, cofferer of the queen, for ten cloths measuring 33½ ells, bought by him and given for the bodies of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, and their household after the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February in the 33<sup>rd</sup> year, at various prices just as is shown in his account

£55 10s. 9½d.

To the same for 21 ells of tirtayn for the robes of the lords on the feast of St John the Baptist

60s.

**Striped cloths**

To the same for three stiffened striped cloths measuring 12 ells, bought by him and given to the servants, squires and valets of the chamber of the lords for their summer robes in the present year, at various prices

£12 14s. 3d.

**Miniver furs**

To the same for 23½ miniver furs, bought by him at various prices, for the bodies of the lords and others staying in their household, just as is shown in the account of the same

Lord Thomas £35 5s.

To the same for 4 miniver furs, worth 26s. 8d. each 106s. 8d.



### **Miniver hoods**

To the same for 10 miniver hoods, bought by him and given for the robes of the lords in the present year £4

To the same for 2 miniver hoods, worth 6s. each 12s.

### **Grey miniver, strandling and grey fur<sup>8</sup>**

To the same for 1½ grey furs worth 40s., and for 1½ furs of strandling worth 18s., bought by him and given to Lady Edeline and Mabile, the nurse 58s.

To the same for one grey fur of 9 rows, given for the clothing of the lords 50s.

### **Rabbit skins**

To the same for 4 rabbit skins, bought by him at various prices in the same year 18s.

### **Lambswool**

To the same for 17 furs of lambswool, bought by him at various prices 48s.

### **Coverlets of grey fur**

To the same for three coverlets of grey fur, bought by him at various prices £29

### **Stiffened sindon and sindon *de cursu***

To the same for 6 pieces of sindon bought by him, worth 13s. 4d. each, £4. Also for two pieces of sindon *de cursu*, worth 7s. each, 14s. Total £4 14s.

### **Serge**

To the same for three cloths of checked serge, bought by him at various prices 37s. 4d.

### **Mattresses**

To the same for muslin coverlets bought by him for two mattresses, 24s.

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<sup>8</sup> This probably refers to squirrel fur



**Summary:**

Of coloured cloth, 10 cloths measuring 23½ ells  
Of tirteyn, 21 ells  
Of stiffened striped cloth, 3 cloths measuring 12 ells  
Of miniver furs, 27½ furs  
Of miniver hoods, 12 hoods  
Of grey miniver, 1½ furs  
Of strandling, 1½ furs  
Of grey fur, 1 fur  
Of rabbit skin, 4 furs  
Of lambswool, 17 furs  
Of coverlets of grey fur, 3  
Of sindon, 6 pieces  
Of sindon *de cursu*, 2 pieces  
Of serge, 3  
Of mattresses, 2

Total price £161 18s. ½d.

Total of the page      £171 18s. ½d.

Fo. 5v.

**Naperies from Paris**

To the same Lord Thomas for 6 naperies from Paris bought by him, each measuring 6½ ells, worth 10d. per ell      32s. 6d.

To John Vanne, a merchant, for 8 naperies from Paris, bought from him for the arrival of Lady Mary at Ludgershall, worth 5s. each, in the month of July in the present year  
40s.

**Towels from Paris**

To the same Lord Thomas for 8 towels from Paris, bought by him      10s.

**Linen sheets**

To the same for 188 ells of linen sheets, bought by him at various prices  
£7 10s. 4d.



To John Shipton, a merchant, for 10 ells of coarse linen sheets, worth 4d. per ell, bought from him  
3s. 4d.

**Canvas**

To the same Lord Thomas for 60 ells of canvas, bought by him, worth 3d. per ell  
15s.

**Summary**

Naperies from Paris, 14  
Towels from Paris, 8  
Linen sheets, 188 ells<sup>9</sup>  
Canvas, 60 ells  
Total price £12 11s. 2d.

Total of the heading of the great wardrobe    £174 9s. 2½d.  
Total of both sides of the folio                £184 9s. 2½d.

Fo. 6r.

**LIVERY OF CLOTHS, FURS AND OTHER VARIOUS GOODS PURCHASED  
IN THE 33<sup>RD</sup> YEAR**

**The king's sons:**

To Lord Thomas, the king's son, and to Lord Edmund his brother, towards their robes for the feast of Easter, 14 ells of cloth, 5 miniver furs and 2 miniver hoods  
To the same lords, towards their robes for the feast of the Ascension, 14 ells of cloth, 5 miniver furs and 2 hoods  
To the same lords, towards their robes for the feast of St John the Baptist, 21 ells of cloth, 4 miniver furs and 2 hoods  
To the same lords, towards their robes for the feast of St Edward, half a cloth, 4 miniver furs and 2 hoods  
To the same lords, towards their robes for the feast of All Saints, 14 ells of cloth, 4 miniver furs and 2 hoods

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<sup>9</sup> Actually 198 ells, taking into account the 10 ells of coarse linen sheets bought from John Shipton.



**Knights:**

To Lord John Weston, Lord Stephen Venusse, and Lord William the chaplain,<sup>10</sup> to each of them towards their robes for the feast of Whitsun, half a cloth and 1 piece of sindon

**Clerk:**

To Master John Claxton, to this clerk towards his robes for the same feast, 7½ ells and half a piece of sindon

**Women:**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, towards her robes for the same feast, 1 cloth and 1 piece of sindon

To Mabile, Lord Thomas’s nurse, towards her robes for the same feast, 15 ells and 1 piece of sindon

To Perrette, the rocker, the damsel of Lady Edeline, and Joanna, daughter of Isabella, to each of these women of the chamber towards their robes for the same feast, 8 ells and 2 pieces of sindon in total

**Squires:**

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| To Thomas Weston    | To Henry of Brabant   |
| To Nicholas Cokfeld | To Robert Despy       |
| To John Gambays     | To John of the pantry |
| To John Tynerval    | To John of Waltham    |
| To Hugo Blund       | To Ralph Balu         |

To each of these 10 squires, towards their summer robes for the aforesaid feast, 7 ells and 1 lambswool

**Valets of the Chamber:**

- |                        |                              |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| To John of Marlborough | To Stephen, the tailor       |
| To John Blundel        | To Ralph Porssy              |
| To William Boreward    | To the valet of Lady Edeline |
| To Richard More        |                              |

To each of these 7 valets of the chamber, towards their robes of stiffened striped cloth, 7 ells of cloth and one lambswool

<sup>10</sup> This is clearly an error – William Lorri, the chaplain, should have been listed under clerks with John Claxton.



**Female assistants:**

To Aincie of Northampton and Petronilla Boweys, female assistants in the chamber, towards their robes, 8 ells and 2 rabbit skins

**Coverlets:**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, for two coverlets for the beds of the lords, 1 cloth and 2 coverlets of grey fur

To the same Lady Edeline, for 1 coverlet for her own bed, of coloured cloth, half a cloth and 1 coverlet of grey fur

**Bodices of the women:**

To the same Lady Edeline, for making one bodice from coloured cloth, 4½ ells and 1½ grey furs

To Mabile, Lord Thomas's nurse, for making one corset from coloured cloth, 4 ells and 1 fur

To Eremburse, Lord Thomas's rocker, and Perrette, Lord Edmund's rocker, to these two women for making their corsets, 8 ells of cloth and 2 rabbit furs

Fo. 6v.

**Pelisses for the lords**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, for making pelisses for the bodies of the lords, 1½ miniver furs

**Serge**

To the same Lady Edeline, for making a coverlet for her own bed, 1 checked serge

To Stephen of the wardrobe, tailor, for making coverlets for the beds of visitors, 2 serges

**Mattresses**

To Stephen of the wardrobe, tailor, for the beds of visitors, 2 mattresses

**Linen sheets**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, towards the linen robes of the lords, for linen sheets for their beds and for visitors, and the need of linen sheets in the chamber, given by the hands of Lord Thomas Querlee, 188 ells



## **Napery and towels**

To the same Lady Edeline, for use in the chamber of the lords, the king's sons, given by the same Lady Edeline, 6 naperies from Paris and towels

To Master John of Canterbury, pantler, for use in the household of the lords, against the arrival of Lady Mary and the Lord Bishop of Chester at Ludgershall, 8 naperies from Paris

## **Canvas**

To Lady Edeline Venusse, for making coverlets for the court of the lords, and for making covers for the beds of the squires, boys and valets of the chamber, and for other necessities of the same chamber, 60 ells

## **Summary**

Of coloured cloth, 10 cloths measuring 23½ ells

Of tirteyn, 21 ells

Of stiffened coloured cloth, 3 cloths measuring 12 ells

Of miniver furs, 27½ furs

Of miniver hoods, 12 hoods

Of grey miniver, 1½ furs

Of strandling, 1½ furs

Of grey fur, 1 fur

Of rabbit skins, 4 furs

Of lambswool, 17 furs

Of coverlets of grey fur, 3

Of sindon, 6 pieces

Of sindon *de cursu*, 3 pieces

Of serge, 3 pieces

Of mattresses, two



**WAGES OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS NOT ALLOWED IN THE  
HOUSEHOLD ROLL IN THE PRESENT 33<sup>RD</sup> YEAR**

**Lorri, the almoner**

To Lord William Lorri, chaplain and almoner of the lords, receiving 7½d. per day for his wages from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February of the 33<sup>rd</sup> year to the last day of October of the same year, counting the last day and not the first, for 253 days not allowed in the household roll because the queen should acquit half of this expense, by account made with him at Westminster on the second day of November £7 18s. 1½d.

**John Claxton**

To Master John Claxton, keeper of the wardrobe of the same lords, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February of the 33<sup>rd</sup> year to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November ending the same year, counting both, for 273 days, excepting 102 days for which he was absent on business of the household of the lords, not allowed in the roll of the same household for the above-said reason, by account made with him at Windsor on the last day of November beginning the 34<sup>th</sup> year 64s. 1½d.

**Ambrose**

To Ambrose of Newbury, clerk of the offices, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the household roll for the aforesaid cause, from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February of the said year to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November ending the same year, counting the last day and not the first, for 272 days, excepting 69 days for which he was absent outside the court of the lords, at Ludgershall overseeing repairs to the hall of the same place, by account made with him at the same place on the same day £76s. 1½d.

**Thomas Weston**

To Thomas Weston, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the household roll because of the same cause, from the 20<sup>th</sup> day of February of the said year to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November ending the same year, for 272 days, during which he was not absent, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.



**Blund**

To Hugo Blund, receiving 4½d. per day over the same period and number of days, not allowed in the household roll, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**Gambays**

To John Gambays, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the household roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**John, the pantler**

To John the pantler, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**John Tynerval**

To John Tynerval, butler, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**Robert Despy**

To Robert Despy, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**John of Waltham**

To John of Waltham, courier, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.

**Ralph Balu**

To Ralph Balu, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day 102s.



## **Henry of Brabant**

To Henry of Brabant, receiving 4½d. per day for his wages, not allowed in the roll, over the same period and number of days, by account made with him at the same place on the same day

102s.

Total of the page      £60 16s. 4½d.

Fo. 8r.

**Sum total of the expenses of the household of Lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, from the 13<sup>th</sup> day of February to the 19<sup>th</sup> day of November ending the present 33<sup>rd</sup> year, just as is shown by the roll of those same expenses<sup>11</sup>**

**£510 14s. 2½ d.**

**Sum total of the expenses of the wardrobe of the same lords over the same time, just as is shown above under diverse headings, namely of alms, necessities, messengers, gifts, shoes, robes, knights' fees, the great wardrobe and wages of household members outside of the roll**

**£354 4s. 7d.**

**Sum total of the expenses of the household and the wardrobe from the 13<sup>th</sup> day of February in the present year**

**£864 18s. 9½d.**

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<sup>11</sup> This refers to the equivalent roll of daily household expenses that was kept between 13 February and 19 November 1305, which can be found at TNA E101/367/4.



## APPENDIX FOUR

### The Marshalship of England in the Early Fourteenth Century

#### and the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable

#### (BL Cotton MS Nero D VI)

Certain aspects of the marshalship of England in the early fourteenth century have already been discussed during the course of this study. It has been suggested that the marshalship was a significant source of revenue, and that Norfolk's right to appoint deputy officials within the marshalsea was an important means by which he could reward his followers. Many of the extant manuscript sources that outline the duties, rights and emoluments of the marshalship in this period have also been mentioned.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the topic is worthy of greater attention and this appendix will give particular consideration to whether the marshalship had become a purely honorary and ceremonial office, or whether it still retained practical functions. It will also consider whether or not the marshalship was of any political significance during the early fourteenth century. The provenance of the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable will be discussed, and a transcript of this document is provided below.

The origins of the marshal of England are obscure, but both Crouch and Crosland have suggested that the term *marescallus* derives from two early Frankish words meaning 'horse-slave', which implies that the office may have developed in France during the Merovingian period.<sup>2</sup> The office seems to have been brought to England by the Normans following the Conquest, and by the reign of Henry I the master marshal (as he was known at this time) was an important household official who headed the department of the marshalsea. He had four deputy marshals below him, who might

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<sup>1</sup> See above, 163-4, 174-7.

<sup>2</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal*, 205-8. J. Crosland, *William the Marshal: The Last Great Feudal Baron* (London, 1962), 17-18.



be either clerks or knights, whose duties included finding lodgings for the court. He also presided over serjeants, ushers, watchmen and a stoker who served within the marshalsea.<sup>3</sup> As the office of the marshalship continued to develop over the course of the twelfth century it became an increasingly prestigious and hereditary office, and as a consequence the more menial duties associated with it were devolved upon a range of deputies. The most important of these deputies was the marshal of the household, but other judicial and disciplinary duties were also passed on to representatives in the courts of the exchequer, king's bench and common pleas, and the fleet prison. Even before the end of the twelfth century, when William Marshal held the office, the master marshal had moved out of court.<sup>4</sup>

It is generally accepted that long before the early fourteenth century, the great baronial offices such as the marshalship had become 'largely honorary and ceremonial'.<sup>5</sup> This is not, however, entirely accurate – any official who was able to appoint a host of deputies within the king's own household and his law courts retained a significant degree of influence. The appointment of deputies by the marshal of England was in fact as much a duty as a right, and failure to fulfil his obligations in this way might adversely affect the king's administration. This is clearly demonstrated by Edward II's confiscation of the marshalship in 1323 because Norfolk had failed to appoint an official in the court of king's bench, and his warning that he would not tolerate any further oversights of this nature.<sup>6</sup> Edward III's confiscation of the marshalship in 1337 probably resulted from a similar cause. Precisely because the marshal was still able to appoint various deputies in the early fourteenth century, Davies concluded that, in contrast to the steward and the chamberlain, 'the marshal of England

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<sup>3</sup> *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 133-4.

<sup>4</sup> For brief outlines of the development of the marshalship, see: Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, x. 91-99; J. H. Round, *The Commune of London and Other Studies* (Westminster, 1899), 302-18.

<sup>5</sup> Painter, *William Marshal*, 102-4; Crouch, *William Marshal*, 205-8; M. V. Clarke, *Medieval Representation and Consent: A Study of Early Parliaments in England and Ireland, With Special Reference to the Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* (New York, 1964), 238.

<sup>6</sup> TNA C54/141, m. 31d, calendared in *CCR, 1323-1327*, 144-5.



was not a mere figure-head but an official with definite functions and a place in the administration'.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, although the majority of the duties of the marshal had devolved upon his deputies, he might still on occasion carry out practical tasks. For instance, although it is not specifically stated, it is highly likely that it was in respect of his hereditary office that Norfolk was appointed in 1330 to arrange and oversee the execution of Roger Mortimer.<sup>8</sup>

The most notable area in which the marshal of England – together with the constable – still retained key duties was in the military field. The Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable, transcribed below, outlines in some detail the military duties claimed by the marshal and the constable. According to this document, the marshal was to be the first official to arrive at the location where the army was to camp, and was to arrange billeting and remain in the field until the entire host had arrived. Together with a clerk of the king's wardrobe, he was to record the names of all individuals performing feudal service, and had ultimate responsibility for the confinement of prisoners and for executions. Together with the constable, the marshal was to take the number of men-at-arms in the army, and the names of each battalion, soldier and archer. No one was to leave the army without a letter from the marshal and constable to testify that they had completed their forty days of feudal service. In the field, the marshal was to set the watch, whilst the constable was to give the watch-word. The marshal had the right to be present at military councils called by the king, and shared command of the vanguard with the constable. It was the duty of the marshal and the constable to hear pleas of the army, and they had overall responsibility for discipline within the host.<sup>9</sup>

Many of the duties outlined in the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable, such as the right to lead the vanguard of the army, can be confirmed from other sources.

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<sup>7</sup> Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, 207-8.

<sup>8</sup> *Parliament Rolls*, iv. 103-6; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, ii. 53, 256.

<sup>9</sup> BL Cotton MS Nero D VI, fos 85r-86r, and see the transcript of this text given below.



In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the marshal and constable repeatedly guarded their rights as the hereditary leaders of the king's army, and the leadership of the vanguard was a particularly prestigious role maintained by them. At the battle of Falkirk in 1298 the marshal and the constable held this command, and Prestwich has speculated that 'no doubt they claimed that their hereditary posts entitled them to this honour'.<sup>10</sup> Prior to the battle of Bannockburn in 1314 (at which time the marshalship was vacant), Hereford, the constable, and Gloucester, who had been appointed by Edward II to overall command of the army, quarrelled as to which of them should have the privilege of leading the vanguard. Hereford maintained that this was his right as constable of England, and their quarrel may have spurred Gloucester to make the rash charge against the Scots that resulted in his death.<sup>11</sup> According to the *Brut*, in 1327 Norfolk cited his authority as marshal of England, which gave him command of the vanguard, in order to prevent Lancaster from attacking the Scots.<sup>12</sup>

Of course many of the military duties claimed by the marshal of England may in reality have been entrusted to his deputy during the early fourteenth century. It is difficult to envisage a magnate of Norfolk's status arranging billeting, for instance. It would appear that during the civil war of 1321-22 it was Norfolk's deputy, John Weston the younger, who recorded the names of those serving in the king's army – in the ensuing confusion as to who had sided with the contrariants, it was Weston who testified as to who had actively served the king, and who had not.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, enough has been said to demonstrate that it is too simplistic to regard the marshalship of England in the early fourteenth century as a purely honorary office.

The prestigious importance of the marshalship – and of the other great hereditary offices – should not be underestimated. During the thirteenth century the

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<sup>10</sup> M. Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven, 1996), 174.

<sup>11</sup> Flores, iii. 158; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 88-93.

<sup>12</sup> *Brut*, 250-2.

<sup>13</sup> *CCR*, 1318-1323, 443, 447, 580.



families holding these offices began to use and develop their titles in a way that was intended to increase their status. Simon Montfort, for example, began to style himself earl of Lancaster and steward of England, and even though the earls of Winchester lacked a similar title within England, they followed suit and began to call themselves constables of Scotland.<sup>14</sup> In 1246 Roger Bigod was granted his office under the title ‘*marescallus Anglie*’, and the term ‘earl marshal’ also appeared during the thirteenth century.<sup>15</sup> This was a tradition inherited by Norfolk in the early fourteenth century. Although he usually referred to himself in charters and deeds by his full title – earl of Norfolk, marshal of England and son/brother/uncle of the king – in a rare personal letter he (or his scribe) simply signed himself ‘*le comite Mareschal*’.<sup>16</sup> This suggests that he viewed the marshalship as his most prestigious title, and it may be significant that the letter was written to Pembroke, who held no such hereditary office. The early fourteenth-century chroniclers also tended to refer to him as the earl marshal rather than as the earl of Norfolk.<sup>17</sup>

The prestige of the marshal of England could also be further enhanced through the performance of ceremonial duties associated with the office. Traditionally, the marshal held the honour of carrying the king’s spurs during the coronation ceremony, of supervising the king’s hall and carrying the rod of the verge during great state occasions.<sup>18</sup> The extent to which Norfolk exploited these opportunities for self-aggrandizement is unclear. It is recorded that he was present at the coronation of Edward III, but not if he played any ceremonial role at the event.<sup>19</sup> At the coronation of Queen Philippa in February 1330, his honorary role of escorting her to Westminster dressed as a simple groom seems to have owed more to his position as a member of the

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<sup>14</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal*, 205-8.

<sup>15</sup> Tout, *Chapters*, ii. 253.

<sup>16</sup> TNA SC1/49/137.

<sup>17</sup> Roger Bigod IV was also often referred to as *comes Marescallus*. For examples see: *Chronicle of Bury St Edmund’s*, 152; *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker*, 21, 42-3; *Vita*, ed. Childs, 76-7, 162-3, 198-9.

<sup>18</sup> Crouch, *William Marshal*, 205-8, N. Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry 1254-1310: A Study of the Historical Value of the Rolls of Arms* (Oxford, 1965), 9; Cokayne, *Complete Peerage*, x. 98-9.

<sup>19</sup> *Foedera*, ii.(ii), 684.



royal family than as the holder of the marshalship.<sup>20</sup> Nor is there any firm evidence to show that Norfolk played a ceremonial part at any other great state occasions during the early fourteenth century, but it is unlikely that he would have passed up such opportunities to display his prestige. The honorary significance of the marshalship of England was certainly still deemed important in the later fourteenth century, when Norfolk's daughter Margaret unsuccessfully petitioned for the right to appoint a deputy marshal to act at the coronation of Richard II.<sup>21</sup> She may also have had a treatise on the rights of the marshal of England drawn up at this time to further her cause, entitled simply *Officium Marescalli Anglie*.<sup>22</sup>

Turning to the question of whether or not the marshalship of England was of any political significance during the early fourteenth century, it is clear that it had the potential to be used to further the political aims of the holder. In the late thirteenth century, Roger Bigod IV had used the marshalship as a political weapon in his opposition to the military and financial policies of Edward I. He was able to do this because 'the obscurity which surrounded the rights of hereditary officers proved an advantage to the holders when they wished to take the lead in public affairs',<sup>23</sup> and also because the king had little control over who held the marshalship given its hereditary status. In 1297 Edward I planned a two-pronged attack on France, but both the muster and the taxes ordered to pay for the expedition were of 'questionable constitutional validity'.<sup>24</sup> When the king ordered Bigod in his role as marshal, and Hereford as constable, to prepare lists of those who were to serve on the expedition, the two earls refused on the grounds that the army had not assembled in response to a feudal summons, and that therefore this was not their duty. They were thereby able to use their

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<sup>20</sup> 'Annales Paulini', 349.

<sup>21</sup> *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis: Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum et Liber Horn*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols. (London, 1959-62), ii.(ii), 458-9.

<sup>22</sup> BL Cotton MS Vespasian B VII, fos 105v-106v.

<sup>23</sup> Clarke, *Medieval Representations*, 239.

<sup>24</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 173-4.



offices to demonstrate their opposition to the king's plans. This policy was used once again by the earls after the battle of Falkirk, when they refused to participate in further campaigning because, they declared, they had not been consulted as was their right as marshal and constable of England.<sup>25</sup> The fact that the marshal of England could appoint deputies within the king's household also gave the office political potential. After the death of Roger Bigod IV in 1306, Edward II temporarily granted the marshalship to Robert Clifford, but this individual appears to have taken the blame for the anger caused by the Wallingford tournament of 1307 and the king's coronation in 1308, and was forced to resign. In his place, the barons forced the appointment of Nicholas Segrave, a Lancastrian retainer. This was clearly unacceptable to the king, and although Segrave was never formally relieved of his office, he soon ceased to perform any duties.<sup>26</sup> Thereafter, the marshalship remained in abeyance until it was granted to Norfolk in 1316 – an appointment which none of the magnates could criticise.

The office of the marshalship, then, had the potential to be used as a political tool during the early fourteenth century, but there is no evidence to suggest that Norfolk ever put it to this purpose. This can be explained by the fact that he was very rarely in open opposition to the Crown, and then only for short durations, which gave him little need or opportunity to use the marshalship in this manner. The situation would certainly have been very different had the office been in the possession of another magnate, such as Lancaster, who by virtue of being steward of England attempted to claim the right to appoint the steward of the king's household, and who formulated a theory of the stewardship as outlined in the highly political *Tract of the Steward*.<sup>27</sup> By contrast, Norfolk seems to have taken care to appoint officials who would be acceptable not only to him but also to the king, and may have viewed this as a means of increasing royal

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<sup>25</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 173-4.

<sup>26</sup> *CPR, 1307-1313*, 6; *CCR, 1307-1313*, 51; Denholm-Young, *History and Heraldry*, 133-7.

<sup>27</sup> Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster*, 241-3, 289-91, 321-2. For a brief discussion of the *Tract of the Steward*, see Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, 314-6.



favour. John Weston the younger, for instance, who served as Norfolk's deputy marshal within the household during the early 1320s, was the son of the steward of Norfolk's childhood household. He was also a notable companion of Edward II even before his accession to the throne, and a long-serving household knight.<sup>28</sup> Weston's successor, Walter Beauchamp, has no other discernable links with Norfolk's retinue, but had previously been trusted with a number of royal commissions, including the constableness of Gloucester castle.<sup>29</sup> Henry Grey, the first marshal of the household appointed after the invasion of Isabella and Mortimer, also had a history of royal service. His father, John Grey, had served the king in a variety of capacities, which included acting as justice of North Wales, and Henry Grey followed in his father's footsteps and in February 1323 was sent by the king to Lancashire to help to defend the county from Scottish incursions.<sup>30</sup> His appointment as marshal of the household after the invasion strongly suggests that he had abandoned Edward II at the pertinent time and was in favour with Isabella and Mortimer. Given that Grey's major landholdings were located in the March of Wales and the border counties, it may be that he was Mortimer's preferred candidate for the position.<sup>31</sup> Under the personal rule of Edward III, Norfolk appointed Walter Mauny – one of the king's favoured courtiers – as serjeant marshal of the household for the duration of his life.<sup>32</sup> It would seem, therefore, that on the whole Norfolk was willing to appoint deputies who were favoured by the king, and consequently the marshalship of England did not become a prominent political issue.

Finally, attention should be turned to the *Treatise on the Marshal and The Constable*, an unusual and intriguing document which can be found in three manuscripts

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<sup>28</sup> For instance, he is listed as a household knight from 8 July 1315-7 July 1316: TNA E101/376/7, fo. 45r.

<sup>29</sup> *CFR*, 1323-1327, 72; Davies, *Baronial Opposition*, 208.

<sup>30</sup> *CFR*, 1307-1319, 232; *CCR*, 1318-1323, 695.

<sup>31</sup> The bulk of Henry Grey's lands were in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire and the March of Wales: *CFR*, 1319-1327, 291.

<sup>32</sup> *CPR*, 1330-1334, 179.



of the late fourteenth century and a number of other later copies (some of which give the treatise in English rather than the original Latin and Old French).<sup>33</sup> In the late fourteenth-century manuscripts, the treatise is entitled *Les usages que Thomas de Brotherton fils au roy clamoit a user per l'office mareschalsie*. This title is then followed by a paragraph in Latin, which briefly outlines the marshal of England's right to appoint a deputy in his place who should carry the rod of the verge, as well as some of his duties during times of war, his responsibility to oversee the custody and execution of prisoners resulting from the judgements of the steward in the court of the verge, and his right to take particoloured animals as booty. The treatise then reverts to the use of Old French, and gives a much more detailed description of the rights and duties of both the marshal and the constable during times of war. The treatise is usually preceded in the manuscripts by a copy of the charter whereby Norfolk's great-grandson, Thomas Mowbray, was granted the marshalship of England by Richard II in 1386, and followed by a tract on the office of the marshal in times of peace.

The transcript given below is taken specifically from BL Cotton MS Nero D VI, a beautifully decorated volume that is sometimes referred to as the 'chivalric codex' because it also contains tracts such as the *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum* and the Tract on the Steward.<sup>34</sup> It has been speculated that the codex may have been created specifically for Norfolk's great-grandson, Thomas Mowbray.<sup>35</sup> This suggestion is supported by the fact that in the manuscript, the copy of the charter whereby the marshalship of England was granted to Mowbray is accompanied by an illumination lavishly decorated with gold leaf, which depicts the king passing the charter to him.

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<sup>33</sup> The manuscript versions dating to the late fourteenth century are: BL Cotton MS Nero D VI, fos 85r-86r; BL Cotton MS Titus CI, fos 116r-119v; BL Add. MS 32097, fo. 38. The later copies are: BL Add. MS 29439, fo. 166; BL Add. MS 15091; BL Add. MS 48063, fo. 60; BL Stowe MS 140, fos 142r-143v.

<sup>34</sup> Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, 316-7.

<sup>35</sup> Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare*, 103.



As to the provenance of the Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable, it seems entirely plausible that the initial paragraph given in Latin was written for Norfolk during the early fourteenth century, although since no copies of the treatise survive from before the reign of Richard II this cannot be proved. Given that the marshalship was confiscated from Norfolk twice, and that at other times he had difficulty in obtaining the fees and emoluments owed to him, he had plenty of cause for wishing to clarify his rights in this way. As a purely speculative theory, it can be postulated that the initial section in Latin was written for Norfolk, and that after his death the document eventually passed down to his great-grandson, Thomas Mowbray. It can be further postulated that when Mowbray was himself created marshal of England, he had the document copied into a codex that was being made for him, adding a title in Old French and a much lengthier addition to further clarify his rights and duties in comparison with those of the constable. This must remain conjectural, but it does provide a plausible explanation.

The Treatise on the Marshal and the Constable is of great interest, especially to military historians, and yet it can only be found in two publications, both of which are now of some antiquity in their own right. In *Historical Anecdotes of Some of the Howard Family* of 1769 there is version of the treatise taken from BL Add. MS 48063, which is an inferior English translation made during the reign of Henry VIII, and which differs in some particulars from the original fourteenth-century versions.<sup>36</sup> Grose gives an English translation of BL Cotton MS Nero D VI in his *Military Antiquities*, but this does not include the first Latin paragraph of the treatise which should be considered in conjunction with the rest.<sup>37</sup> It is for this reason that a transcript of the treatise is given below, following the guidelines set out by Hunnisett.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> C. Howard, *Historical Anecdotes of Some of the Howard Family* (1769), 138-163.

<sup>37</sup> F. Grose, *Military Antiquities Respecting a History of the English Army*, 2 vols. (1812), i. 184-7.

<sup>38</sup> Hunnisett, *Editing Records*, 23-51.



## THE TEXT

Fo. 85r

**Ces sont les usages que Thomas de Brotherton fils au roy clamoit a user per l'office mareschalsie.**

Marescalsia autem est quedam magna serjantia regis, comiti Norff<sup>e</sup> in feodo commissa cui cum personaliter servitium pro serjantia illa debite facere non potest liceat loco suo quendam militem constituere assensu tamen regio interveniente qui vice dicti comitis faciet que fuerint facienda. Et qui si delinquerit ut pro evasione incarcerationum vel huiusmodi non erit pro inde dominus suus amerciandus ut comes set tantum ut serviens. Ipsi autem servienti commissa est virga coram rege deferenda que significat pacem et unde dicitur virgata que circiter regem ubicumque fuerit in Anglia spatium continet xij. leucarum. In omni autem guerra regis erit euis officium esse in prima acie et loca deliberare toti exercitui et universis in quibus erunt moraturi. Insidias autem nocturnas facere non tenetur set singulis noctibus in crepusculo insidias assidebit et eas in aurora levabit exercitu vigilato cum foratoribus vexillo explicato singulis diebus exhibit in protectionem. Eius autem sunt executiones facere judiciorum senescalli regis infra virgatam et custodiam captivorum obtinere et de omni preda bestiarum totum habere viragium, videlicet omnes bestias maculatas vel diversi coloris existentis pro minima stella, et qualibet libra solido regis ij.d.

Et sement il est droit que les conestable et mareschall eient le nombre des gents armes et les nomis de chescuns batailles et routes et ensement de archiers. Et quant ils chivachent le conestable et mareschall feront la livere des herberges et averont l'avant garde et de reson chescune bataille doit omiglere en la champ tant que autres soient herberges. Quant ils serront herberges es tentes ou es pavylons le blaunche banere

Fo. 85v.

serra la rergarde detoris et ne lerra nul cariage derier li. Quant ils chivachent des praies que serront pris avera le conestable tous les bestes descornus et tous les chivaux deferres et les porcs, et le mareschall avera tous les bestes verres. Item le conestable avera de chescun marchant ou bribour que vende ou achate en l'ost chescune semaigne iiij.d. et de un barel j.d.. Et avera l'assise de tous que sont a vendre vyn ou cervose.

Item il prendra de chescune femme de fole vie en la semaigne iiij.d.. Et de celi que plaunte logge le mareschall avera iiij.d.. Item le conestable avera toutes les forfaitures des armures de ceux que mesfont de jour ou de nuyt, et ensement des villes prises ou rendues sans condicion il avera les armures et les draps entiers queux sont destailles.



Item le mareschall avera tout le vesses d'argent, cotes, plumes, lintheux, coverlits, draps des tables, towailles et toutes autres choses de pelf. Item le conestable et mareschall ordeigneront la manere dyceux qi veilleront et le mareschalle les ferra garner al heure de manger le mareschall les assaiera et le conestable les visitera et dorra lour paroil de veille, et cestes choses serront faites a siege de ville ou de chastel, et quant leur hostes es tentes ou es pavylons et le conestable un noet et le mareschall un autre ferront certains gents chivacher ou aler pur assurer l'ost de maufesours dedenis l'ost et le conestable et mareschall ne veilleront si non en defaute des autres. Item le mareschall doit avoir en l'ost monture pur son corps. Et le mareschall et un clerc de la garderobe le roy devoient recevire tous les servants queux veignent a servir le roy per quarante jours et quele heure q'ils ont fait lour services, ils ne poent partir del host tant que ils eient lettre du conestable et mareschall q'ils puissent tesmoigner q'ils ont fait lour services, et ensi doit le mareschall estre apreiser des chivaux que serront apreises et son clerc doit estre contrepledour encontre le clerc nostre sire le roy. Item le mareschall doit estre a l'ordenance devant le roy et le conseil de les batailles coment ils serront ordener et mys en conestableries, et il doit avoir en son roule de tous les gents d'armes de l'ost et de tous les gents a pee come le conestable et il mieuls poent ordener les getts et les escheques et les escoutes en salvacion de l'ost, et quant les batailles sont ordener le seneschall ne doit rien medler des plees que sont en l'ost forsque le conestable et mareschalle dont le conestable avera les fyns et le mareschall les amerciements et les forfaitures de l'ost de tous ceux q'ont deserver justyce et le profit de tous ceux que sont commander a la prisone.

Le mareschall avera de chescun marchant que fuyt en l'ost et de chescune armurer, taillour, suwour, barbour ou bribour et de chescun homme que vende et achate en l'ost et de chescune femme de fole vie sy avera chescun samody en sojourne de tous ceux que shop tiegnent quatre deniers et en mesme la manere des mesmes ceux a chescun remnant del host apres la sojourne de deux jours ou trois et ont avera le mareschalle tous les bestes verres que sont prie des gents de l'ost quant chivachees se facent et nulle chivachee ne se doit faire sans conestable et mareschall et en chescune chivachee devoient avoir un chivaler ou un esquier en lour lieu a eux herberger et lour fees chalanger. C'est assavoir le mareschall avera tous les bestes verres et le conestable avera de tous les bestes tourer les cors et les poleyns ceux sont les fees del host de conestable et mareschall les juments sont a ceux qi les poient gaigner et les chivaux ferres au conestable.



Item que tous les berbys et porcs sont a tout le commune del host qique les poient gaigner

Fo. 86r

et quantque viegnent en l'ost et crient havok chescun preigne sa part. Item si un prisoner soit pris en terre de guerre et que le dit prisoner eschape hors du garde de celui que li prist et soit pris per la gette du gayte le ... au mareschalsie et le mareschall avera l'avantage de son ranceon qar il est come estraye.



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